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**Other Voices in Broadcasting:  
The Evolution of New Forms  
of Local Programming in Canada**

COMMUNICATIONS







OTHER VOICES IN BROADCASTING

THE EVOLUTION OF NEW FORMS  
OF LOCAL PROGRAMMING IN CANADA

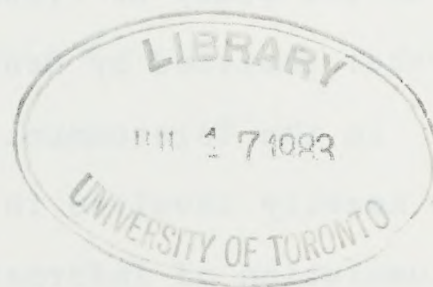
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There is a very large number of people I would like to thank who are in the areas we visited during field travel. Unfortunately, it is too long a list to give here. It was a most educational experience for me to spend time in each area and try to gain some understanding of the viewpoints of people living there. I hope very much they will find this report interesting and useful. Even if the particular information they told us does not appear in this report, it does not mean I did not find the information useful or relevant. I used all the information in interviews and from letters to form my understanding of the phenomenon of new local programming.

Many of the people I met made a deep impression on me, especially in their enthusiasm and concern about the work they are doing in local broadcast programming. Their efforts deserve better recognition than they have received so far in Canada.



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PREFACE

Local broadcast programming is one small portion of what is distributed by the mass media systems. In turn, they are part of the commercial, self-perpetuating high technology machinery which the industrialized countries find necessary to their economic functioning.

It is true that highly sophisticated technology (of the mass media, among others) can be seen in less developed countries too, without the necessity of having developed an industrialized economy first. Indeed, there is recent debate in Canada about how advanced our economy really is in being industrialized. It certainly has the superficial signs of high technology usage; the broadcasting system is a fully developed part of that technological structure.

Canada is famous for the technical sophistication and complexity of the distribution systems used to carry radio and television programming to most households in the country. Every decade or so, it seems that Canadians concerned with broadcasting policy come to the realization that the outward sophistication of the distribution networks conceals a raw adolescence in the production of our own programming content.

It must be emphasized that the difficulties of program production are by no means unique to Canada. As Raymond Williams\* has pointed out, the underlying problem of broad-

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\*Raymond Williams, Television: Technology and Cultural Form (London: Fontana/Collins, 1974).



casting everywhere is that from the beginning it was primarily a distribution technology; attention was given only later to the production of special content to be distributed. The sale of broadcasting receivers to consumers was a huge success for the manufacturers in the early years of radio and then of television; the main economic impulse for the development of broadcasting came from these entrepreneurs. A later boost came from advertisers and their agents, especially in the United States.

When it became necessary to pay attention to the development of content, the types of programming produced first on radio and later on television relied very heavily on using material similar to that already provided by newspapers and magazines or on copying styles from existing creative activities both of popular culture and high culture. For example, in entertainment programming, both the British and the Americans have been highly successful, within their own cultural contexts, in using the resources of the popular theatre (music halls, vaudeville) and more serious theatre to provide television entertainment of high calibre. This dependence on earlier creative forms, both in information and entertainment, has enabled broadcasting to avoid having to create program content of its own although professional broadcasters have gradually evolved their own styles and genres.



In the case of Canada, informational programming is often of high calibre and can be compared favourably to the professional standards of other countries. However, in Canada (other than Québec), there is a specially difficult problem in creating entertainment programming content because the theatre groups, musicians, actors, writers and popular entertainers on which television and radio must depend are not well-developed yet - at least not on the scale required for usage by the broadcasting media.

In worrying about how to strengthen the programming content from our own resources, Canadians inevitably have to consider if there are ways to compensate for the immaturity of our cultural industries. The need for re-appraisal at this time is because of the unfolding vision of greatly increased distribution capacity together with the recurrent realization that we are not able to fill the existing capacity with widely acceptable Canadian material.

While, at first glance, the following study may seem to have little to do with the expected clash of technological warfare, we maintain that the development of local programming content is a part of the general problem of broadcasting program production in this country. We also hope this study of local programming will lead to greater attention to the various ways in which the broadcasting media may be used by Canadians.



SUMMARY

This study is concerned with the new forms of local programming which have been produced and distributed within the Canadian broadcasting system during the past twelve years. Primarily, it is concerned with the video programming on the community channel of cable TV systems and the radio programming carried on community radio stations; other radio stations and a few TV stations are also involved in the distribution of the new local programming.

Before looking at the history of development in the new local programming, it is necessary to establish what is the social context within which the programming has occurred; secondly, it is necessary to determine how this local programming fits within the context of the total broadcasting system in Canada. It is clear to us that the new forms of local programming have been developed largely on a voluntary, non-professional basis by people for whom the programs serve some social or cultural function. At the same time, though, the provision of local programming by the conventional broadcasters continues to decline in importance for economic and institutional reasons.

The origins of ideas for the development of new forms of local programming in Canada stem from ideas about social change and the democratization of society which were prevalent in the 1960s; there were government policies and regulations developed



at the federal level which also stimulated the efforts to use newer media tools and the broadcast distribution systems towards social and cultural goals. The scale and rapidity of development in the new forms of local programming has been due to the availability of government funds and other aid over the past ten years; this government funding is no longer available to most programmers so alternative funds are having to be sought while even greater reliance is being placed on volunteers to produce programming and to increase local community support.

A description is given of the various ways in which organizations, groups, and individuals have been involved in producing and distributing the local programming for cable TV, radio and television. These developments occurred in various places across Canada and are not the same from one place to another. The reasons for these local differences stem from the nature of the local area socially and culturally; they also stem from the different ways in which individuals have been able to use existing media systems or develop their own distribution systems.

A summary of how new local programming activities have developed in six different areas is given as an indication of the different contexts in which the broadcasting media are used locally. It is clear that the goals or purposes towards which the programming is intended to reach vary widely from one programmer group to another and from one place to another;



there will always be wide variation in programming goals because the communities in which the programming occurs vary widely in their socio-cultural contexts.

In conclusion, we emphasize the crucial importance of the social and cultural goals which the programming is intended to reach; the people involved in programming on a volunteer basis do so because it fulfills some purpose for them, in their own local community. The use of the broadcasting system to achieve goals of social and cultural development is possible now but only in a peripheral way at the local level. The cultural objectives which are stated in the present broadcasting policy are not being achieved within the present system because it is too strongly oriented towards economic and political objectives. The cultural objectives hoped for at the national level will never be achieved if they continue to have the lowest priority.

Social and cultural objectives for Canadian broadcasting have to be worked towards at the local and regional levels as well as the network level or they will not be achieved at all. At present, the position of local radio programming can be established on a firmer basis with assurances of minimal financial support for capital expenses. However, the major concern and attention now must be on all types of local programming activities in future program services on cable TV systems and other non-broadcast distribution facilities.



## INTRODUCTION

### Scope and Objectives of the Study

This study has as its focus the development of new forms of local programming in the Canadian broadcasting system over the past ten years. The new forms to which we refer exist in radio, cable TV and television programming at the level of local distribution. Essentially, these new forms differ from the programming normally provided on radio and television at the local level in one basic way: the nature of the program production group or organization. Other differences which usually exist are in the program content and the intended audience.

The programming is of three main types: audio programs either taped or live on community radio stations; video programs produced for the community channel on cable TV systems; audio tapes, video tapes or films produced for broadcast by a conventional radio or TV station. The first two of these types are more common and are usually treated as separate topics because of the different institutional structures which exist in radio and cable TV.

The development of new forms of local programming has occurred within the social context of local communities and, at the same time, the programs produced and distributed have become part of the total amount of programming provided through the Canadian broadcasting system. We found that an examination of both contexts was essential to an understanding of why



local programming has evolved into new forms and why some places have had more activity in this regard than others. Through a review of existing documents and a subsequent field study of selected areas in Canada, we have collected information about the organizations, groups and individuals which have been involved in the production and distribution of the new local programming, particularly during the past five years.

The objectives of the study were three-fold: (1) to produce a set of statements about the nature of new local programming activities; (2) to provide a description of the functions of groups and individuals in these activities; (3) to make recommendations on how the programming can be strengthened and developed as part of the content of the Canadian broadcasting system.

During the first part of the study, we reviewed available articles, reports and books on programming at the local level and on related topics such as community development, the broadcasting system, CRTC policies and broadcasters' actions. From our reading, we were able to describe some expectations about local programming which were to be tested against the findings on local programming collected during subsequent field work. Finally, on the basis of collected information, assembled within a conceptual framework, we have decided upon some basic recommendations on how to strengthen new forms of local programming in broadcasting and in the future communications systems to the home.



### Expectations about New Local Programming

The development of new forms of local programming within the Canadian broadcasting system over the past twelve years has been heavily dependent on direct and indirect support from a number of federal and provincial government departments and agencies. Much of the support has been financial.

Much of the programming produced and broadcast could not be commercially self-supporting and, thus, it is part of the content produced by the public sector of broadcasting. The public sector is not equivalent only to the CBC but to all parts of the system which cannot depend on the use of large audiences to raise enough revenue from advertising to maintain the program production activities. In the public sector, direct audience support of some kind for programming will increasingly be relied upon for funding and support which is independent of commercial advertising and direct government funding schemes. The kinds of direct audience support which have been sought by those engaged in producing the new forms of local programming are: audience phone-in responses and letters; subscriber fees to cable TV service; volunteer work; community fund-raising drives; broadly-based programming group membership. The emphasis on one kind of support over another depends on whether or not the programming group is a broadcast licensee as well as on other local circumstances.

The actual introduction of new forms of local programming in any particular locality across Canada has required first of



all one of the following perceptions by some people living in the area; those people may not be long-time residents of the area. The perceptions are: a) a lack of service at the local level in broadcasting or in all media; b) a need for alternative media programming to counter-balance the commercial media. In addition to one of these perceptions of something missing in media content at the local level, other factors have to be operating if new local programming is to result. The additional factors are i) the development of one or more local groups able to undertake the program production and, if necessary, distribution; ii) the availability of funding and other support from government and non-government organizations to purchase production equipment and pay some coordinating staff; iii) the presence of local volunteers willing to spend time on the production of programming; iv) a responsive audience for the programming. All of these factors are necessary if the new local programming efforts are to be initiated and then maintained over time.

Much of the new local programming that is produced is of an informational nature. This may be because that is thought to be the most serious lack of content at the local broadcast level or because it is the easiest and cheapest to produce, on the community channel anyway. The information provided in the programming may be strictly local in relevance or it may range from regional, provincial, national or even to international in scope.

Most of the new local programming is produced by groups, or individuals representing groups. The principal types of



programming groups are: media, ethnic, social or volunteer, native and professional. The purpose for which programs or program series are produced is often less clearly defined than the overall purpose of the programming group concerned. This is particularly so for media groups, especially the licensees among them.

The formation of a media group in a specific community depends initially on the infusion of money and equipment from outside the community and the dedication of particular individuals to the establishment of such a group. The long-term life of the media groups, whether licensees or not, is financially uncertain. Ethnic groups and social or volunteer groups produce or participate in some local programming; it is usually only one of a number of activities for these groups. The availability of programming time on radio, television or cable TV is useful to them but not essential to their survival or their value to the community. For any of the different types of groups, the use of video (cable TV, television) rather than radio for program production seems to depend at least as much on the available local broadcast time on each media distribution system as on the inherent advantages of one medium over another.

### Procedures

The study was divided into five phases of work.

Phase I: the collection of studies, summaries, catalogues, reports, program schedules and other available information in



print on the new local programming activities in Canada since the middle of the 1960s. A great deal of the printed material was in the form of federal government documents on the policies and funding practices which set the stage for the development of program production on a major scale. Non-government sources of written material were also explored but were much more limited.

Phase II: the development of a chronological description of the evolution of the new local programming and related social trends together with an assessment of the gaps in the available documentation. A description of expectations about the evolution of new local programming and its means of survival.

Phase III: the collection of data in six selected areas of the country on the development of local programming generally and the relationship of new local programming to it. The areas selected were in different geographic regions of the country and intended to be diverse in a number of respects: population size; ethnic mix and language mix; community development activity; economic development; provincial government interest in programming.

Phase IV: the assessment of data collected and its synthesis with previously collected and extracted information from written material. The contrast of the prior expectations with information collected in the field work.

Phase V: the writing of the final report and the development of conclusions and recommendations for future action on the basis of the synthesis of data gathered.



During the course of the study, an interim report was prepared after Phase II was completed. The findings of the interim report are incorporated, in summary, in this document.

### Selection of Areas of Study

General descriptions of new local programming in cable TV, radio and television can give an overview of the developments in Canada. However, we have been conscious of the inapplicability of the generalizations made to the specific situations existing in the areas with which we were familiar from earlier investigations. Anyone who has knowledge of the way in which the broadcasting licensees and other programmers work in their own area will always be aware of the inadequacy of descriptions about general trends to their particular area.

In this study, we did not want to conduct an enumeration of new local programming hours or of all local programming in the broadcast media because that would not help to explain why the level of new local programming activity varies so widely from one area to another. We expected that the differences in the social, political, economic or cultural contexts between areas could provide much of the explanation for the differences in local media content. Therefore, it was decided to select a few specific areas for study in greater depth rather than attempt to survey as many areas as possible.

With time and money constraints (which attend all research projects), it was decided to limit the areas of study to six,

selected in different regions of the country. In examining the possible areas, and the differences between them even on paper, we discovered that six areas were the absolute minimum, and more would have been preferable. For example, one area in the four Atlantic provinces is not ideal. Indeed, one area in each province and territory would have been useful but that would have required twelve selections.

Within the larger provinces and territories, any area chosen could not be considered indicative of a 'typical area'. No attempt could be made - nor was it made - to select 'typical' areas. We must emphasize this point because we do not want to convey the impression that there are typical areas or that we believed the selected areas are typical of the region or province to which they belong. The motive for selecting areas was not one of selecting representatives for each region but of choosing areas based on our paper knowledge of places which had in the recent past been active in developing new local programming. Our reading of the available documentation convinced us that there was a need to select at least one area in each major region.

We decided not to select small communities (except in the North where this was unavoidable) as a focus for an area because the communication exchanges of such communities are almost entirely informal and we did not have the time required to obtain an understanding of the communication exchanges in the community beyond that which took the form of broadcast programming. Because larger towns and cities have more formal organization of



social communication, it is somewhat easier to relate social communication links to the distribution network of the broadcasting media. This is not to suggest that large towns do not have informal social networks nor that they should be ignored as unimportant; in any community they are hard to measure especially in a short-term research project of this type.

In determining the division of the country into regions, there are several possible ways to do this, using different human criteria such as economic, cultural, political, linguistic, or social factors. There are also climatic, geological or geographic criteria of physical regions but these have not been used as primary criteria because we are dealing with an element of social organization. The economic and political regionalization of Canada is an accepted fact of historical development although the precise limits of the regions may not be universally agreed. The provinces are usually grouped into Pacific (British Columbia); Prairies (Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba); Ontario; Québec; Atlantic (Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland). The Northern territories of the Yukon and Northwest Territories may be treated as a separate region or sometimes are ignored altogether.

Linguistically, the regions could be divided into French Canada (Québec, parts of New Brunswick and Ontario); English Canada (all other provinces); the Northern territories. This division does not allow for the very great differences between ethnic mix of people in different parts of English Canada which have affected its cohesion, although most people speak English.

Waves of immigration to different parts of Canada at different dates have affected the cultural mix and cultural character of cities, towns and rural areas throughout Canada, even Quebec. To take account of these cultural or social differences due to immigration, it seems necessary to us that the following six regions should be delineated for our study: (1) the North, including the two territories and the northern parts of most provinces; (2) British Columbia; (3) the Prairies; (4) Ontario; (5) Québec; (6) the Atlantic provinces. Each of these regions has experienced different patterns of human settlement and immigration from many countries which have affected the character of its regional culture.

Within each region, to choose a particular area was the next problem. The concentration of population in large urban settlements in recent years has distorted the distribution of people between urban and rural areas and has reduced the significance of small towns because of the numerical weight in most provinces in a small number of cities: Vancouver, Victoria, Edmonton, Calgary, Regina, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, Montréal, Québec, Halifax, St. John's. Even within that group, the five largest metropolitan areas had about 35% of all Canada's population, according to the 1976 Census: Toronto, Montréal, Vancouver, Ottawa-Hull and Winnipeg.

Because of this heavy concentration of population in the urban and metropolitan areas, mostly along the southern border of Canada, it is extremely difficult to choose areas throughout Canada for comparison purposes. The dilemma here was that if



we opted for the major centres, that would overlook the small towns, rural and remote residents who are already ignored by the conventional media as sources of programming content. On the other hand, if we chose to look at small towns, this would not be useful to provide an indication of how local programming serves the vast majority of Canadians who live in the cities. The method of using places of comparable size was, therefore, not attractive.

The basis of selection of an area was firstly that it was thought to have had new local programming activities during the past five years. Secondly, we decided to select only one major city and, because of our own familiarity with it, chose the Vancouver metropolitan area. Of the others, we chose one provincial capital, Halifax; one large town of mixed industrial and agricultural strength, Kitchener-Waterloo; one town of industrial-commercial base, Chicoutimi-Jonquière; one university town with rural-industrial base, Saskatoon; one government town in the North, Inuvik. This selection was a compromise to attempt a balance between western and eastern regions and a balance between southern Canada, mid Canada and the North. Chapter V of this report provides a summary of the areas and the particular characteristics which new forms of local programming have taken in each area.

## Format of the Report

This report consists of the following chapters:

I The Social Context: a statement of the assumptions and definitions we have made about the social environment in which local programming exists.

II The Structural Context: a look at the inherent problems and contradictions in program production and distribution for the Canadian broadcasting system as a whole, problems which have effects on the development of local programming.

III Sources of Change and Support: a summary of the major categories of change which have led to the development of new forms of local programming and a review of the principal sources of support for the groups which have become involved in producing and distributing the programs.

IV New Forms of Local Programming: a summary of the history of development in programming at the local level in all three media systems with reference to the groups and individuals which have been primarily involved.

V Summaries of Six Areas: a description of the particular social and cultural context in each area and of the local programming which has been initiated within that context.

VI Conclusions and Recommendations: a review of the principal characteristics of the new local programming activities, with recommendations on the short-term measures which should be taken



to sustain those activities; a review of the structural context of the broadcasting system in relation to social and cultural development in Canada; a look at the possibilities for encouraging local programming initiatives in future programming for broadcasting and non-broadcast services.

## CHAPTER I

### BROADCASTING IN THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

Based on information collected through interviews with people in the selected areas, we have made some assumptions about the way in which people can relate to the broadcasting media within the local social context. By the social context at the local level, we mean at the level of individual people in their locality (or "community", although that has several possible definitions). The parameters of the local society are inseparable from economic, political and cultural factors which affect the immediate area and are affected by it. Society at the local level has to be viewed also in its regional context, affected by geography; physical communication links with other areas; climate; the history of settlement; the economic strength and degree of self-sufficiency; ethnic mixture of population; political history and present; local population centres and their interaction; proximity to major metropolitan areas. The local level of society can also be viewed as a series of overlapping communities of two types: geographic communities with municipal boundaries or physical limits; communities of interest for hobbies, work, culture, language, social orientation, political preference, etc.

In their own social environment, people can be active or passive in local organizations or personal contact networks of an informal nature. Clubs, associations, groups, societies, leagues, and so on, are the basis of formal social organization



at the local level, as at the regional, provincial, national and even the international levels. Most social organizations depend entirely on volunteer assistance, especially at the local level. The extent of volunteer activity in a community can vary although this is extremely difficult to measure apart from relying on subjective judgments of those living in the community. People who are active in organizations involved in using local media for publicity purposes tend to be active in a number of organizations at one time or another. The contribution of time and effort by women to voluntary organizations has been very significant in Canada, more particularly over the past sixty years or so. Changes are clearly underway in this pattern of volunteer work because increasing numbers of women are entering, or returning to, the paid work-force; "free-time" is less available, either to them or to the organizations they have habitually maintained.

In the local social context, the broadcasting media are used primarily as sources of entertainment in people's leisure hours. For most people, broadcasting is a special glamour world which they do not aspire to enter but by which they expect to be entertained and informed. They 'use' the media by selecting from the available choice of programming on TV or by choosing to listen to particular radio station. There is no expectation that they, as individuals, have any effect on the media as a whole. For those people active in social organizations at the local level, they use media in a more active way by seeking to have publicity about their organization and its activities broadcast on local stations. The most active people are those who

engage in production of programming for the community channel on cable TV or for a community radio station. This final category contains a very small proportion of the local population but their importance may be considerably larger because of their involvement in various local organizations.

### The Broadcasting Media

Broadcasting in this study is limited to the definition provided by the federal Broadcasting Act, the current statute in force in this field. At present, radio stations, television stations and cable TV systems are all licensed by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) and are regulated as parts of the Canadian broadcasting system according to the objectives of the broadcasting policy enunciated in section 3 of the statute. Although there is considerable discussion currently about the future position of the cable TV industry, including the question of whether or not cable TV should be treated as a common carrier, major changes to the structure of the broadcasting system are outside the scope of this study. However, it is impossible to ignore entirely the possibility for major changes in the telecommunications environment in which broadcasting will have to survive.

Broadcasting media in this study are TV stations, radio stations and the channels on cable TV systems. Local broadcast media can be described in a number of different ways, all of them relevant to this study. Firstly, they are the local



elements of technically integrated distribution systems, integrated across a region, a province or the whole country; this integration is partially dependent on common ownership of the radio or TV stations involved but not necessarily. The CTV private network, for example, is made up of a number of separately owned TV stations which combine to distribute network-produced programming for certain portions of the broadcast day.

Secondly, the local broadcast media are the local elements of economically or financially integrated structures of common ownership, both within one medium or between media. The daily and weekly newspapers are frequently involved in these media empires as well so that the local mass media in one locality may all be owned by large companies, none of which are based in that locality. Alternatively, at the other extreme, a locally based company may own or control radio and TV licences as well as daily newspapers all in one area.

Thirdly, local broadcasting stations are the agents of the mass media systems, providers of content intended for a mass, undifferentiated audience - for a mass society. People in their daily lives are more or less aware of their membership in the mass society, especially in urban areas, but they also see differences between the social life and values portrayed on TV or radio and their own lives in their own local context. The degree of dissonance between cultural values portrayed and experienced may be extreme, as it is for many native people living in the North, or it may be much less drastic although still disturbing, as it is for some people living in towns

or cities.

A local society is not a microcosm of the society portrayed through the media but perhaps it could be described as a local variation of it. Every local area has some special features of its own. Local media operators (the owners and their staff) may make some attempt to adapt or supplement the content they are channelling through to the local level which would make available some programming more relevant to the interests of local people, more in tune with their work and leisure interests, more in keeping with their view of their locality and its place in the larger society. However, local media operators do not have to make such adaptations either to survive financially or to satisfy the regulatory agency, the CRTC.

Fourthly, the local media are information gatekeepers at the local level, purveyors of information from all levels: (international, national, regional, provincial and local) and from all types of sources. The selection of information for broadcast has to be made from available sources, including local sources, and the extent of news, current affairs and public affairs information collected at the local level depends on the media owners' decisions.

Finally, the local media are entertainment providers; the program content is selected by them on the basis of their professional perceptions of the audience to be reached, balanced against the costs involved. The origination point of programming is not especially relevant to most program selectors of entertainment programming; perhaps, if anything, there is a bias



towards the selection of U.S. or 'national' Canadian programming over local or independently produced programming.

In discussing programming in this study, we refer to the content produced or purchased for broadcasting on radio, television and cable TV. Radio programming in Canada can be roughly divided into music - the playing of records or tapes, occasional live transmissions of concerts - and information in the form of news bulletins, interviews, talk shows and phone-in shows. Television programming, broadcast or on cable TV, can be divided between informational programs and entertainment programs. The informational programs are usually grouped under headings of news, current affairs, public affairs and documentaries. Entertainment programs are mostly produced in series: situation comedies, dramas, action dramas; there are also films originally made for theatrical release and re-distributed for television broadcasts. In addition, there are nature programs in series, talk shows featuring show business personalities, game shows for prizes, panel quiz shows and sports programs. Throughout this study, we refer to informational programs and entertainment programs as the two major groupings of program content.

### Local Programming

There is a good deal of confusion in this term if we do not distinguish first of all between the production of programs locally and the local distribution of programs of all types. This study is concerned with the former type.

Dealing with television first, in general, locally produced programs are distributed by a single TV station. However, the station distributes locally a whole range of programs: e.g., those provided by the network to which the station is affiliated; programs purchased from syndication companies which may be re-issuing a series broadcast years ago on a network; programming produced by an independent production company (rare in Canada); movies released for TV distribution; sports programming produced by a company specialising in that work.

Part of the confusion about local programming stems from the use of the term "local time" in a TV station's program schedule to denote the time during the broadcast day when the local station has control over what is broadcast; the remainder of the day is "network time" or "reserved time", assigned to and controlled by the network to which the station belongs. Most TV stations in Canada belong to one of the TV networks which provide service to sizeable parts of the country: CBC/Radio Canada, TVA, CTV. (Global, which provides service to southern Ontario, is regarded as a regional TV network but it has no affiliates and is really one TV station with extensions via rebroadcasters.)

By way of clarification about the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the French language services identify themselves as Radio Canada. In referring to the Corporation as a whole, this is usually called the CBC, for short. The English language services are referred to here as CBC English and the French language services as CBC French, or Radio Canada. Each language service division is operated on a daily basis by staff completely



separate from the other division although the President and Board of the Corporation are ultimately responsible for both divisions. In each division, a TV network service is maintained as well as two radio services: an AM radio network and an FM stereo network.

At present, the CBC English networks have wider physical extension over the country than the Radio Canada networks because the Francophone population is heavily concentrated in Québec and parts of New Brunswick with other French Canadians scattered in smaller numbers in the rest of Canada. Under the Accelerated Coverage Plan (ACP), the federal Cabinet has authorized the Corporation to receive special funding to extend TV and the AM radio service in the appropriate official language to any place where there are 500 or more people whose language is either French or English in any part of Canada. The ACP has led to the extension recently of the French networks to many places across Canada which were previously served only by the English language services. The Plan has also resulted in the extension of English language networks within Québec.

The French language TV network has been heavily concentrated in or near Québec and its local and regional programming is produced almost entirely in Montréal; as the network is extended across Canada, its management is under greater pressure to introduce content from other centres, especially from outside Québec.

As the basis of the affiliation agreement between any TV station and the public or private network to which it belongs,

the station agrees to distribute to its local area a minimum number of hours of network-produced or network-purchased programs, the hours of broadcast being fixed mostly in the prime-time hours of 8 p.m. to 11 p.m. each day. During the rest of the broadcast day, the local TV station may produce its own programs or purchase some programming from other sources. Most local TV stations produce a short news and current affairs program, usually broadcast each weekday evening some time between 5 p.m. and 7 p.m.

In the CBC networks, some of the stations are owned by the Corporation and the majority are privately-owned stations which are affiliated to the network. The Corporation-owned stations (sometimes referred to as owned-and-operated or O&O stations) are responsible for producing local programming for their area of service; this requirement is mainly filled by the production of a local news program. Such other locally produced programs that the O&O stations can afford to produce become the basis for the "regional exchange" scheme of the network whereby a program or series produced in Vancouver (for example, the "Klahanie" series about the outdoors in B.C. and the North) can be made available to other CBC stations - affiliates or O&Os - for distribution during local time-slots. These transfers of locally produced programs from one local CBC station to another do not take place on a large scale; if they did, they might provide the sort of exchange between regions of Canada which is urged by section 3 of the Broadcasting Act.



During the local time, all TV stations do provide some local news and many stations provide local sports coverage. The scale of these programming endeavours and the existence of any other locally produced programs depend on the availability of funds provided by the station for that special purpose. There are many reasons, as we shall see in the following chapter, why these funds are extremely limited in most stations. Even the independent TV stations devote most of their budget to the purchase of programs, not to locally produced programs.

Regarding radio programming, because the structure of programming is very different, a different approach to local programming is required. The basic element in radio programming is music, provided by tapes or record discs. Apart from the CBC radio networks, and the recently licensed news radio network, most radio stations in Canada are now local stations unaffiliated with any broadcasting network. The bulk of their programs, therefore, are locally produced in the sense of being prepared in the local area by locally employed staff. However, since the majority of the material broadcast is music produced elsewhere, it is hard for us to accept that radio stations are producing local programming in the same sense as TV stations produce such programming.

The solution seems to be to focus on locally originated music or other entertainment, and on informational programming produced locally. For the latter, having local newscasts is not a sufficient qualification because all news-reading is locally done but most (sometimes all) of the information is gathered

outside the local area. The use of wire services in the production of news content for most stations is very widespread. In some radio stations, there is a strong emphasis on news-gathering and they provide a wide range of information on news and current events. However, these stations are the exception rather than the rule.

The CBC networks on AM radio are made up of O&O stations and affiliated stations. As the CBC networks extend their coverage to smaller communities, under the ACP, many of them are now being served directly by the CBC; the affiliated stations in the area are able to withdraw from the CBC network to become independent stations. The O&O stations can have production centres attached to them or they may be (and increasingly are, in the smaller communities) simply low-power relay transmitters - known as LPRTs - which are capable only of extending the signal coverage for the nearest major station. (To add confusion, many of the LPRTs use FM to transmit, not AM. This has led the CBC to call its AM network "CBC Radio" and the FM network "CBC Stereo".)

The CBC O&O producer stations for the AM networks do engage in local production of programming, especially local and regional news for their areas. The area served may be extremely large and can depend on a number of LPRTs to extend coverage. On each FM network, however, the program schedule is the same for the whole network and there are no affiliated stations. Some programming is prepared and distributed by major regional production centres, with the rest of the schedule coming from the network production centre. The English FM network is broadcast only in



major cities or provincial capitals across Canada; the French FM network is available only in Québec. Both FM networks are being extended to reach more cities, as funds are provided.

For the cable TV systems, whatever TV signals and radio signals are carried may contain some local programming but that depends on the stations available and permissible for pick-up by the cable TV operator. To supplement the television programming provided by local TV stations, the CRTC has required that all cable TV systems make available a community channel on which community-oriented programs can be shown. Originally, the idea was to have these programs all produced locally but this has not always been the case in practice. Generally, most programs on the channel are produced either by the cable TV operator's programming staff, by volunteers from the service area or a combination of the two. Some programs are produced for other community channels and exchanged between the systems on an informal basis (these are commonly referred to as 'bicycled' programs).

#### The Community in Community Channel

The community for which the community channel was intended has been extremely difficult to define. This has been mainly due to the fact that the boundaries of the cable TV system (which has an exclusive licence to provide television and radio service to subscribers living inside those boundaries) have little to do with the social community in which people actually live. Ten years ago, many of the boundaries had little to do with political

boundaries at the municipal level but this problem has been resolved in most places, either by changing cable boundaries or by allowing cable TV systems to combine their resources on a community channel or on a common municipal program shown on both systems.

However, people do not define their community solely on the basis of the municipality in which they live. They are probably members of a number of communities of interest, some of which coincide with the cable boundaries, some of which do not. In the case of city-dwellers, their community of social interaction may be at once very large or very small, for different purposes. For the purposes of organizing tenants or householders, for example, a neighbourhood is generally seen as the most useful unit of organization. There will be dozens of neighbourhoods in a large city, all of which may be within one cable TV system's boundaries.

It is impossible for a cable system to provide a number of community channels to cover different geographic areas and to serve different communities of interest. The problem has been how to develop ways of allocating time on the one channel to the various communities within the cable boundaries. Some cable operators and their program staff have been able to deal fairly effectively with this problem, others have not. Differences in effectiveness have to do firstly with whether there is a coincidence of cable boundaries with the limits of a strong social community. This is easiest in a small village or town which is sufficiently distant from other urban areas as to be self-contained



for a variety of social activities. The other main factor is the concept of community which the cable operator and his program staff use to determine what types of programming they should be producing and distributing. For example, if the community concept is limited to a view of sharing channel time between the major social service clubs and local sports organizations, it is not going to reflect other types of community identifications and other kinds of social networks.

### Social Origins of the Community Media

While the CRTC was trying in the early 1970s to encourage the development of the community channel on cable TV, other social trends had been at work which encouraged some people to think of ways in which a geographic community or people with a common interest could use the media of radio and television to serve their community better. The focus of these ideas initially was on the production tools of the conventional mass media, machines which were becoming more accessible to people outside the industry. The ideas of using cameras and tape-recorders as social tools, rather than as machines to promote advertised products, were very attractive for a time.

Through the later 1960s and during the first half of the 1970s, the influence of ideas about participatory democracy and peaceful social change was strong among many young Canadians, especially students. The American civil rights movement made a

considerable impression and encouraged people to think that the electronic recording equipment and message duplicating equipment used by mass media professionals to present their versions of what was newsworthy could be used to counter the monopoly of information dissemination which the mass media seemed to exert. Problems encountered in finding a way through burgeoning government bureaucracies and concerns about government secrecy in Canada and the U.S. led to an emphasis on the public's right to be informed and the need for access to relevant information about public matters affecting the quality of life.

A number of activities related to media equipment usage were spurred on by these ideas. One response was to start newspapers and magazines, which became known as the underground press. People tried to start newspapers concerned with topics which the commercially-oriented, advertiser-supported major press were not willing or able to cover. A few of these newspapers in Canada still survive but with some difficulty in keeping their revenues ahead of their costs.

Another response by some people was to produce video or audio programs and try to get them broadcast. The development of moderately priced portable video cameras and videotape editing equipment suggested to some the possibilities for freedom of expression which could be gained by putting the media in the hands of the people. The "video revolution" was thought to be at hand.

For many of these early enthusiasts, disillusion set in quickly. The video equipment proved to be more difficult to work



with than anticipated and there were many more intractable difficulties in getting the finished tapes broadcast. Some people decided that radio programs would be easier to produce and just as interesting to audiences as the video programs. They were able to arrange for distribution of the radio programs, sometimes on the cable TV community channel (then just starting to be used). Sometimes they were able to have the tapes broadcast by a local FM radio station. A few people in urban areas who had gained experience as radio program producers decided to seek their own broadcast licence for a community radio station so that they could control distribution of their own programs and of others like theirs.

### Community Ownership and Control

The push for community radio licences in the early 1970s was paralleled by the development of a community access radio policy (TV was later included) by the CBC. The policy was intended to allow people in isolated communities (where there was no local program production by the CBC) to produce and broadcast their own local material via CBC facilities.

The possibilities for community ownership of cable TV systems or at least of control over the community channel were explored by people in a number of cities and towns. However, the prior licensing of private cable TV systems in most urban areas, combined with the lack of a licence challenge procedure from the

CRTC, made it impossible for community-based organizations to acquire the assets of any existing cable TV system. The efforts of Capital Cable Co-operative in Victoria to acquire the assets of the principal cable TV system in that city have been unsuccessful even though the co-operative association has pursued this for several years and resorted to court actions.

There are a few subscriber-owned cable TV systems mostly in small communities in B.C. and Québec. The largest until recently was in Campbell River, B.C. In 1977, the CRTC licensed two co-operative organizations to develop new cable TV systems in Regina and North Battleford, both in Saskatchewan.

Instead of allowing or encouraging community control or subscriber control over cable TV distribution systems, the CRTC has encouraged development of a community channel on each system. The intention is to allow local people to become involved in programming and to encourage the cable TV operator to produce or participate in programming of local events which would otherwise not be seen on TV in their area.

The possibility of community control over the community channel was discussed many times in variations of the 'split licence' idea whereby a community-based organization would be licensed to run the channel while the cable TV operator would be responsible for the technical quality of the whole cable TV system. This 'split licence' idea was never put into practice by the CRTC because of difficulties it saw with legal responsibility for the content carried on the community channel.



### New Forms of Local Programming

Unlike the local programming of the conventional media operators (the CBC, educational broadcasters or private broadcasters), new forms of local programming which have developed depend on the active participation of local people in order for them to work. Here, we must make a distinction between the community channel, which is required in all cable TV systems by the federal regulatory body, and the community radio stations (and one community TV station) which have been organized and established by non-professional broadcasters based in their own locality. While these stations have to be licensed by the CRTC, their establishment depends on people who have not previously been licensees. No one is required to establish a community radio station. Another outlet for new forms of radio programming has been the university-based radio station established either by a student society or the university.

The new forms of local programming occur in the broadcast schedules of all these media systems: television, radio (usually FM radio), and cable TV (usually the community channel). The special feature of the programming produced is that it requires the involvement of non-professionals. The people are usually volunteering their time and energy; some of them are paid to work on programming but even if they are paid they keep their distance from the professional, "objective" standards of conventional journalists or broadcasters.

The formats of the programming are usually not particularly unusual although the content often is. Different types of music are favoured, away from the middle-of-the-road or popular music of private radio stations; different types of people are interviewed and different topics are featured. The new forms of local programming are often seen as "alternative programming", an alternative to the mass audience approach of the conventional broadcasters. The impulse to start producing the new forms of programming is often a response to what people feel is the sameness and limited range of conventional media programming.

Local programming in any area can include some aspect of the new forms of programming, depending on the media structures available. There can be a community channel made available in any place with a cable TV system. (Almost two-thirds of the cable TV systems have an actively-programming community channel.) There may be a community radio station or community access radio association, although most of these are in small northern communities. There may be a university or student radio station which allows local people to produce and broadcast their own programming to the wider community. There might be ethnic or foreign language programs produced by local people and broadcast on a local radio station. There may be some programs broadcast by TV or radio stations which have been produced by native organizations. Some cable TV systems still carry an audio programming service which is produced in the community. So far, only St. Jérôme, Québec, has a community-oriented VHF TV station. What you find in any area depends on a whole range of local



circumstances, especially on the interest and energy of local people.

### The Human Element

Many of the new forms of local programming have been encouraged directly or indirectly by federal funding programs, many of which existed in the early 1970s but which are being phased out or have already been terminated. The other major governmental influence has been the regulator of the broadcasting industry, the CRTC. Through its policies on cable TV, community FM radio and co-operative or non-profit ownership of broadcast distribution facilities, the CRTC has had a direct effect on new programming activities at the local level. The CBC has also had an effect on developments in local programming, especially in Northern communities.

However, it would be wrong to conclude from the foregoing paragraph that federal government and CBC initiatives have been the key ingredient in the creation of new local programming. Certainly, the speed and scale of developments in local programming have been dependent on federal actions in the past but they could not create or maintain the interest to participate in program production and distribution. Obviously, people in their own communities have been, and remain, the crucial ingredient for the programming to be created at all. The role of volunteer organizations and individuals in local programming in recent years is an important one. However, because the role is

new to most people, it is not well-understood yet, either in itself or in relation to the accustomed role of the professional broadcaster.



## CHAPTER II

### THE STRUCTURAL CONTEXT OF CANADIAN BROADCASTING

In Section 3 of the Broadcasting Act which came into effect in 1968, Canadian broadcasting is declared to be "a single system"; this declaration has a rather hollow ring when, after more than ten years of trying to regulate this system, the CRTC has been unable to resolve the serious inherent conflicts within it. The purposes, or mandate of service, of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation have been seriously compromised by the increasing growth of private broadcasting stations and by the extension of American TV signals via cable TV into most small towns in southern Canada.

Although information is not publicly available on this, the profitability of the private broadcasting companies is reputed to be considerable in some cities but marginal in smaller centres, particularly due to the introduction of more and more signals into their coverage areas. The rate of development of the cable TV industry in the past ten years has been phenomenal and the current emphasis of cable TV operators is on the need to develop additional services (besides the provision of TV and radio signals) to subscribers in order to maintain the same rate of profit growth. More than 50% of all Canadian households now subscribe to cable TV service.

The licensing of a few community radio stations, campus radio stations, and one community TV station has been done on an

experimental basis in recent years; these licensees have no real place in the present regulatory conception of the single system. The licensing of educational broadcasting stations in a few provinces has been permitted under special conditions because of the jurisdiction over education by the provinces; such stations operate very much within their own guidelines and have little relationship to the licensees in the rest of the system or to their numerous programming goals.

The CRTC has tried to juggle all the conflicting claims by the various licensees within the broadcasting industry but it has been impossible to achieve a satisfactory equilibrium, especially because the broadcasting technology itself keeps on changing and the communications technologies all exert an effect on the environment in which Canadian broadcasting has to function. The position of the CBC within this environment has suffered particularly; its pre-eminence as the public sector and, therefore, the basic element on which all others should depend has all but disappeared.

#### The CBC Mandate

The mandate of the CBC is to be found in section 3(g) of the Broadcasting Act; in earlier statutes from 1936 onwards, the goals of the Corporation were not listed in quite this way but were generally understood to be the provision of a national broadcasting service in French and in English to all Canadians. The Broadcasting Act is more specific and contains two statements



that have been interpreted in various ways and have been a source of dissatisfaction to those Canadians who see the reality of the CBC's achievement has fallen short of their expectations.

First of all, we note that the service provided by the Corporation is referred to in section 3 as "the national broadcasting service". Section 3(g) makes four statements of what the national broadcasting service should do. The "should" has to be emphasized here because many people seem to have confused the "should" with "can". The former indicates a desirable goal, the latter an achievable one. The gap between ideal and real can indeed be very large and the blame for this gap has generally been placed on the CBC, its management particularly.

The two statements of greatest interest to us are contained in 3(g)(iii) and 3(g)(iv).

"the national broadcasting service should...

(iii) be in English and French, serving the special needs of geographic regions, and actively contributing to the flow and exchange of cultural and regional information and entertainment, and

(iv) contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity;"

Both statements are loaded with phrases and words undefined in the statute and have been the source of fruitless debate between the Corporation and its critics. What are the "special needs of geographic regions"? How does the Corporation operate its service so as to actively contribute to the "flow and exchange of cultural and regional information and entertainment"?

Does the Corporation try to do this although the private broadcasters do not? What about the role of cultural organizations themselves in the regional exchange? How does a broadcasting organization or its service contribute to "the development of national unity"? Can they actually contribute to it?

The most enigmatic of all is, of course, the provision for "a continuing expression of Canadian identity." We are only too well aware as Canadians that an expression of our identity can take many forms for people in different areas across the continent. Whether our identity as Canadians can be expressed effectively through the ephemeral medium of broadcasting service or whether it is better expressed first through the traditional artistic media of poetry, theatre, painting, music, and so on is a basic question but one which is rarely asked.

The relationship between the development of the popular arts and the development of broadcasting service is a peculiar one in Canada because much of our cultural development as Canadians (rather than as descendents of other nationalities) has occurred after the development of radio service and even television service. The immaturity of our cultural institutions is often glossed over and yet their development is necessary in order for broadcasting to operate as channels for popular cultural expression.

Broadcast programming can be created best from a strong tradition of cultural expression yet this is something that is notably lacking, outside Québec. We console ourselves by saying that the culture of Canada is extremely diverse and that its



multicultural character is one of its potential strengths. That may be true but cultural activities are still very localized and have not evolved into an intertwined and self-nurturing whole. Writers and theatre groups, for example, still operate and flourish very much within their regional context. While Canada Council tries to encourage the travel of theatre and dance groups from one part of the country to another, this is extremely expensive and can only be undertaken on a limited scale.

This very diversity and the locally-based character of most artistic cultural activities in Canada clash head-on with the requirements of mass media methods for the production of programs. The concentration of artistic and technical resources for the production of popular entertainment programs is the basic element in the Hollywood-New York focus in the United States and in the London focus for most of the successful British broadcasting producers. The "critical mass" theory of cultural take-off maintains that, if one collects together in one place all the necessary creative components for program production, somehow a kind of artistic launching-pad will be created from which all sorts of marvellous entertainers will shoot forth.

It is our contention that the critical mass theory of programming works in practice only where the marvellous popular entertainers are part of the magic mix. In Canada, popular entertainers who are recognizably Canadian and who resist the urge to go south for greater glory in the American market, are very few and far between, especially outside Québec. Many still have to be built up from their local bases of popularity. At

the present time, the CBC is still trying to build images of popular culture for English Canada by concentrating on a few, expensive entertainment programs or series formulated by and mostly produced at the TV network production centre in Toronto. It is not at all clear how the CBC expects this practice to make progress towards the mandate's recommended goal of contributing to the flow and exchange of cultural and regional information and entertainment across Canada. Because of limited resources, the management of the CBC English TV network may feel obliged to concentrate its efforts in this way, for financial reasons. However, for cultural reasons, this concentration may actually be detrimental to the cultural developments in Canada which the CBC hopes to encourage.

#### Problems of Canadian Production

The current way of ensuring that the Canadian broadcasters use "predominantly Canadian creative and other resources", as required in section 3(d) of the Broadcasting Act, is to rule that a minimum percentage of the programming broadcast by each station and network must be content that meets the criteria of "Canadian content". The criteria for a TV program or a music record to be pronounced Canadian are laid down in regulations issued by the CRTC.

The minimum percentage for private sector TV licensees is 60%, averaged over the whole broadcast year beginning on October 1; 50% is the minimum Canadian content during the hours of 6 p.m.



and midnight. The CBC networks have to reach at least 60% Canadian content between 6 p.m. and midnight as well as 60% average overall. For AM radio, the measure of Canadian content is on the music records played, 30% of which have to be Canadian between 6 a.m. and midnight, scheduled reasonably throughout the day. FM radio has been treated differently because the CRTC has been trying to encourage licensees of FM stations to develop more original material in their programs, with an emphasis on local interviews, reports on local events and recordings of local entertainment events. The percentage of Canadian content in music on FM depends on the type of music generally played by a station, some types (e.g., country-and-western music) being more available in Canadian recordings than other types of music.

The Canadian content quota imposed on broadcasters has recently come under renewed scrutiny by the CRTC, among others. This seems to coincide with the pressure for general deregulation coming from many private broadcast licensees and their industry associations. Some people have suggested the quota should be abandoned altogether because it is not achieving the desired goal of strengthening Canadian program production. Richard Gwyn, for example, in an article entitled "Deregulating air waves won't hurt programming" (Ottawa Journal, January 9, 1979) has argued that TV schedules could actually be improved if the restrictions were removed because we would be rid of the numerous game shows and interview programs which are the cheapest to produce.

Canada is an unusual country because there are large numbers of citizens who seriously believe that it is desirable to have a broadcasting system dominated by foreign content. That belief crops up frequently in public debate about the program content of radio and TV in Canada. Furthermore, many will insist equally seriously that they have the right to receive as many American TV stations and radio stations as it is possible to bring into Canada, from off-air pick-up or via microwave carriage. Given the vociferous opposition to any move apparently aimed at reducing anyone's right to receive American programs and broadcasting stations, it would be understandable if the CRTC becomes discouraged at times about the intractable difficulties in improving and strengthening Canadian program production, especially for television. We might ask: why bother? If there are policy reasons why the Canadian broadcasters should be producing and distributing Canadian programs, let us examine what they are. The reasons usually given have not changed in essence since the days of the Aird Commission in 1928, although the particular emphasis and context have.

In summary, there is a strong political sovereignty argument - political in the broad sense - for the necessity to have Canadian radio and television programs of news and current affairs about Canadian events. While American broadcasting stations have been receivable from their beginning, the American stations have never supplied information about Canadian matters nor attempted to look at events from the Canadian perspective, nor can they be expected to do so.



In order to ensure that the need for Canadian information in broadcasting content is met, there is also a need for Canadian ownership and control over the production and distribution facilities for the Canadian content. However, it has never been realistic to imagine that the Canadian service could be solely informational. American broadcasting from very early on was almost entirely directed towards light entertainment and this type of program was clearly very popular also with the Canadians who were able to receive the American signals.

While most people like to receive some informational content, the bulk of audience numbers and time go to the reception of entertainment programs, on radio and TV. Clearly, if Canadian audiences are going to select Canadian stations over American ones, there must be entertainment programs produced and distributed in Canada. The Canadian content regulations which have existed in some form since the early 1930s have been the formal mechanism by which Canadian licensees have been encouraged to produce or acquire programming produced in Canada. Because the audiences for Canadian entertainment programs has remained low - or lower than for American programs of the same type - private broadcasters have generally been reluctant to undertake more than the minimal effort to produce or acquire Canadian programs because expenditures are rarely matched by the advertising revenues. This has been an acute problem for the regulatory agency in the case of English language television service.

When it comes to public discussion about why Canadians are averse to watching Canadian TV programs, preferring to watch

U.S. programs, the answers tend to focus on the poor quality of Canadian entertainment programs. Here, it is easy to get lost in a welter of slogans about: public taste (or lack of it); "giving the public what it wants"; the "freedom to choose"; entertainment as basic right; no government censorship; mass culture in an industrialized society; diversity of choice and the free flow of information doctrine.

The problem can be reduced to this: can Canadian TV broadcasters develop entertainment programs which can attract a large audience on a regular basis? If not, then surely the broadcasting system we now have (especially in TV) is doomed to fail. If it cannot obtain sufficient advertising revenues and government revenues because it cannot attract a large enough audience to Canadian material, then we have been unable to achieve a popular Canadian service in the face of American competition. If private broadcasters cannot make Canadian material attractive to its potential audience, then the Canadian content rules continue to be simply an artificial barrier to greater profitability. If there is no way to enforce the Canadian content rules so that they produce and distribute attractive domestic programming, then the Canadian ownership of the private sector of broadcasting can no longer be justified other than to preserve a profitable enterprise for Canadian citizens.

Here, then, is the dilemma in which the Canadian broadcasting system is placed. A broadcasting system which is based mostly on advertising revenues depends on mass appeal programs to be viable. Even a publicly funded system is not immune from



the pressure to reach most of the population most of the time. But Canadian producers can rarely make entertainment programs that English Canadians like better than the easily available U.S. mass appeal programs.

Furthermore, the CBC is expected to respond to a multitude of demands for programs of minority interest. Trying to be both a popular service and at the same time cater to a variety of special interest audiences clearly cannot work on CBC Television if only only because there is only one TV network service available. The proposal by the President of the CBC for a TV-2 channel\* was an attempt to deal with this problem. The distribution of two nation-wide radio services (on AM and FM) allows the CBC much greater flexibility in trying to meet these contradictory demands of diversity of content on radio.

Private broadcasters are most reluctant to engage in the production and distribution of minority interest programs because this runs directly counter to the basis of operation of commercial broadcasting. Yet private broadcasters in the English language remain largely unsuccessful in attracting big audiences to any Canadian material they distribute and this lack of success has been masked by the considerable success they have in gaining audiences to American material, especially on TV. The cross-subsidy that goes on in their total operation, with the American material effectively carrying the Canadian

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\* See Touchstone for the CBC, Statement by A.W. Johnson, President, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, June 1977, pp. 61-63.

material, is tacitly permitted and even encouraged by the CRTC. In fact, the Canadian material is not made to stand on its own merits; at the present time, it appears that almost no one in English Canada expects it to.

Ironically, while problems of Canadian production have certainly not been overlooked, discussion at Public Hearings and policy statements from the CRTC have been dominated by problems of distribution across Canada. Ultimately, the distribution has received more attention and more money than has production. The "right to service" has frequently been acknowledged by the Commission and it has spent considerable time overseeing the extension of service to various areas. Service of what kind? That is the interesting question. In the first instance, it is the reception of CBC's basic service of radio and television (first in the majority language and later in the minority language). More recently, it has been second TV service. In major cities, it has been third TV service and beyond that perhaps a multi-lingual service. In radio, service is fairly widely available but here also there has been an effort to provide a second radio service if only one has been received.

The extension of service seems to be a positive enough step but it has a negative side because the extension of existing networks of program distribution has been most common and little additional programming of any kind has resulted. The degree of diversity in program source and program content is more illusory than real when two or more broadcasting stations are made available in a local area. The increase of choice of



programs of a local nature or of particular local relevance has proved to be very limited in most instances.

This brings us to the problem of how broadcasting companies are licensed in Canada: what are they licensed to do? The licensee's station or network is expected to "serve" the people in its coverage area. What is meant by this? Is it to provide an all-round mixture of programming or is it to provide a type of content which appeals to a segment of the population, the rest being assumed to be "served" by other licensees? At one end of the scale, the CBC has always striven for the former role; at the other end, private radio licensees have long sought the latter role.

Because of the multiplicity of networks we now have in television and the existence of new networking and other program exchange systems in radio, it is sometimes forgotten now that private broadcasting was developed on the basis of the "local licence".

### The Local Licence

When the CRTC was developing its cable TV policy in the early 1970s, it expressed concern that "the logic of the local licence" in TV should not be undermined by the spread of cable. Radio stations, other than those of the CBC (which until recently operated the only radio networks), have generally been regarded as local stations in the North American market.

However, the relationship between the local audience and the local stations in both radio and television has been severely strained by several factors. First, there is the increasing number of licensed networking and unlicensed program exchange arrangements. Both informational and entertainment content is involved in these sharing arrangements, as described below. Second, the accelerating trend towards concentration of ownership of the mass media - including the press - has had an effect on the local orientation of the individual stations. Third, the extension of TV service from urban stations to rural areas, from city stations to sub-regional areas (sometimes to whole provinces), has caused most TV stations to be operated as regional stations rather than as local stations. Fourth, the carriage of radio signals via microwave or picked up off-air by cable TV systems far removed from the original local market has diluted the local orientation of some radio programming.

Regarding information content, probably the most important influence on news content in local broadcast stations and local mass circulation newspapers is the Canadian Press. CP has an English language service and a (much smaller) French language service. Almost all daily newspapers in Canada receive one of these services. Broadcast News (in French, Nouvelles Tele-Radio) is a sister organization of CP. Its service is provided via teleprinter to every radio and TV station in the country, including those of the CBC. BN has begun to provide a "specially edited" version of its news service to about 70 cable TV systems for display on a news channel. Although Canadian Press is not

the only news wire service in Canada, it is by far the most widely used.

Ten years ago, the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media (the Davey Committee) voiced concern about the degree to which CP depended for its foreign news on the Associated Press, Agence France Presse and Reuters rather than on its own reporters. More recently, the CRTC's Committee of Inquiry into the National Broadcasting Service in 1977 commented on the overwhelming preponderance of Associated Press items which were selected by CP to provide all foreign news to CP subscriber newspapers. For Canadian news, the Committee noted the predominance in the CP wire service of items from a handful of places. Toronto and Ottawa predominate in the English language service. Montréal and, to a lesser extent, Québec City dominate the French language service.

Aside from these problems of balance and perspective, usage of CP-collected material by most newspapers and broadcast stations tends to provide us with the same sort of newsworthy information across different media. The Davey Committee put the blame for this uniformity in newspaper content squarely on the newspaper publishers who choose to rely on CP as heavily as they do. The diversity of locally available information is reduced through this practice.

Even where there is more than one newspaper published in a town and even if they are not owned by the same company, the chances are they both print many of the same CP stories. Broadcasting stations also go through the same sort of selection



process from BN copy, which is essentially a selection of CP copy. What we get, therefore, is not diversity of information sources between newspapers, radio, TV and cable TV in our area - or between one broadcast station and another - we get diverse ways of packaging the same information.

Of course, the Canadian Press is by no means the only news source used by broadcasting stations across Canada. For example, there is also UPI Canada (owned principally by the Toronto Sun Publishing Corporation) and Newsradio Limited (owned by Maclean-Hunter and CBS Radio) which both sell a news service to broadcasting licensees. The Canada All-News Radio network of radio stations in major cities uses several news agencies outside Canada, principally ABC Radio, for foreign news and has its own staff within Canada. The CBC maintains its own news staff and employs free-lance journalists as required, both in Canada and abroad; it also obtains material from the same news agencies which supply other Canadian broadcasters.

The use of the printed messages and 'voice clips' from news agencies outside Canada as well as from news services within Canada is a very widespread practice. There is so much content available through these means that the compilation of information and news by local broadcasting stations for their audience is more a matter of choosing from the stack of items provided, not a matter of seeking new sources or of collecting their own information.

Duplication of content also occurs in entertainment programming although through different means. Radio content has been

heavily influenced by mass distribution of popular music records and tapes. CBC network stations have been less affected than private stations. TV content is affected by syndication of sports programs and mass appeal drama programs, through the distribution methods of films which have received theatrical release and through the reception in Canada of U.S. programs which are broadcast both on Canadian networks and U.S. networks usually in the same week. All these distribution or networking arrangements favour the spread of the same content across Canada or throughout a region but do not facilitate the distribution of local productions to a wider audience. With the sheer volume of this easily obtainable material, there is little need for broadcasters to fill gaps by producing local content - and no incentive to do so, except for the generally popular local newscasts and local sports events.

The local service that a licensee provides has always been a mixture of content from the local area, regional or province-wide material and mass entertainment content. The balance achieved between the different levels of information and different types of entertainment was presumed to be attuned to the needs and interests of the local area, discerned by the local broadcaster. There is still some local content along with the rest but it is often extremely limited on both radio and TV stations. There are newscasts on radio which usually contain some local events, local talk shows on radio and TV, the dinner-hour newscasts on TV; that's about it for local information.

Local entertainment, other than sports programs, is often non-existent.

The low quantity of local content is not because people have shown they are not interested in programming produced in and about their area. It is primarily because the saving in program costs per hour derived from network distribution, program syndication and record and tape libraries limit the extent to which local stations need to produce their own content.

In summary, an examination of the program schedules for many radio and TV stations shows that the amount and quality of local content which is produced is strongly affected by a number of factors which exert pressure on the local broadcast licensees. From our study, we observe that there are four main factors which are pressures against improvements in local programming. These four factors against improvements are exerting their influence on the conventional broadcasters, both public and private licensees. Conversely, we have observed that there are five factors which are pressures in favour of improvements in local programming. The five in favour of improvements have led to the development of the community media, to alternative forms of local programming. The pressures for and against the development of local programming are, thus, unequally balanced. In our view, these trends over the past ten or fifteen years have led to the development of what we are calling new forms of local programming while the conventional broadcasting licensees continue to have declining interest in this level of programming.



The four factors we see which are pressures against improvements in local programming are:

- a) program packaging agreements and wire service contracts make content of entertainment and information programs more uniform across all areas of the country;
- b) the concentration of ownership in the private sector makes local ownership increasingly rare and less meaningful;
- c) the extension of broadcast coverage areas via re-broadcasters makes local stations into regional stations;
- d) the hierarchy of network distribution militates against arrangements for the exchange of programs from one region to another.

These four factors all all disincentives, economic and technical, for the broadcaster to consider ways to strengthen local programming. Of course, that does not mean the broadcaster cannot devise ways to develop local program content; it means simply that it becomes easier not to bother with it.

In any case, it seems that professional broadcasters do not believe that their listeners or viewers are particularly interested in local content. Audience surveys and head-counts do not indicate a keen interest in local programs although, according to a recent CRTC report\*, it appears that local newscasts on private TV stations have been gaining sizeable audience increases in recent years. Since local entertainment programming is

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\*CRTC, Special Report on Broadcasting in Canada 1968-1978 (Ottawa, 1979), Volume 1, p.60.

almost non-existent in most place, it would be extremely difficult to draw any conclusions about the public's response to it if it were to become available. The kind of surveys which are normally conducted to measure the public's preferences in programming rely on measuring response to programs already broadcast and, therefore, they provide no indication of response to types of programming (format or content) not broadcast at present in this country.

The five factors we see which are pressures towards improvements in local programming are:

- a) the development of the idea of community-based media with goals of public access to the media tools for production and distribution, public participation by people who were not professional broadcasters;
- b) the willingness of the CBC to permit community access to re-broadcaster transmitters through contractual agreement with a community-based organization;
- c) social action programs of funding from federal government departments and agencies for individuals and groups involved in activities at the local level;
- d) the idea of the CRTC for balancing the profitability of the cable TV distribution systems with the social good of a community channel;
- e) the willingness of the CRTC to allow experimentation in local radio programming of a non-profit type of operation which could provide a model for private radio stations to copy.

None of these factors provide an economic incentive for private broadcasters to become more interested in local programming produced at the local level. Instead, they all urge the

need to involve non-professionals in the production of programming. 'Non-professionals' in this context has no connotations for us of 'incompetents'; it means people who are unpaid for their work or who view their work as part of their social involvement, not simply as a career in broadcasting.



### CHAPTER III

#### SOURCES OF CHANGE AND OF SUPPORT

##### GENERAL INFLUENCES

There were several general influences on the development of new forms of local programming in Canada during the years 1965 to 1975:

- 1) General social trends in many industrialized countries;
- 2) Social changes within Canada;
- 3) Economic developments within Canada;
- 4) Technical advances in North America generally;
- 5) Governmental and political changes in Canada.

##### General Social Trends

These trends include the strong movement of the 1960s towards the right of access to information about, and affecting, the lives of ordinary people: a reaction against the view that governments had the right to retain control over information which people needed to make intelligent voting choices in referenda and elections at all levels. This idea related very closely to the efforts to allow democracy to function from the grass roots level, a return of real control and decision-making to people in their neighbourhoods. There was a parallel to this in the reaction against "big government", centralised government and the over-weening power which bureaucrats increasingly wielded over

everybody's lives as government programs and policies expanded. The very complexity of government machinery and its increasing impact on every aspect of everyone's lives fed the demand for more and better information from government about what it was doing so that individuals could either protect their privacy better or make better use of existing social programs or both (if that was possible).

The urge to let people feel influential at the local level was particularly strongly expressed in the major cities of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver where the anonymity of big city life was thought to be dehumanizing. The powerlessness of people in poorer areas to have any say about what the city government did to their neighbourhoods was a matter of concern in instances where decisions about urban renewal, for example, were made without any local consultation or discussion. These sorts of concerns existed outside the major cities too, of course, but in Toronto and Vancouver there was such a concern about the way in which the cities were being designed by developer pressure, not by popular preference, that both city councils experienced a drastic change in elected representatives in the early 1970s. "Neighbourhood power" politicians found they could mobilize their supporters so that they were able to outvote the traditional civic lobbyists to stop some of the more outrageous development plans in the inner city and the suburbs.

Along with the movement to bring the politicians under greater popular control, there was a trend to try to improve the level of information which people had about government

social services, not just in the poorer city areas. The idea of community information centres scattered across the cities and geared to serve information needs of particular areas in the city, came alive at this time also. Networks of information centres sprang up in the Vancouver area and in most other cities to respond to the demand for all kinds of information which could be obtained from one place. The community information centres depended on volunteers to run them (although a central office might have paid staff) and used fairly simple methods to handle information requests made by phone or in person. Other people who had gained knowledge of computer technology and programming techniques were intrigued by the possibilities of setting up "data banks" which would really be computer-mediated information centres. Part of the attraction of this scheme was that it would enable all kinds of people to have firsthand experience of using computer terminals and could result in people learning how to feed information into the system as well as taking it out - thus making the data bank an interactive people's communication system.

A lot of the ideas which emerged from the belief that ordinary people - and especially disadvantaged people - could be and must be better informed in order to make the nation more truly democratic would have remained just ideas in Canada if it had not been for several other developments which allowed a number of experiments, projects and models to be tried out in reality.



### Social Changes within Canada

On a fairly broad scale, the mid 1960s in Canada was a time for re-examination of the priorities of the society and an attempt to redress some of the imbalances of power - especially economic power - between various sectors or social groups in society. This was a rather high-minded, perhaps naive, recognition that certain groups were underprivileged and that their ability to improve their position alone was severely circumscribed by problems not necessarily of their own making. In 1968 and 1969, the Senate Special Committee on Poverty chaired by Senator David Croll alerted many middle class Canadians to the realities of life for people at the bottom of the economic scale and, at that time of relative prosperity in the Canadian economy, it seemed possible to improve the circumstances of the poor without depriving anyone else of anything. The same sort of generous attitude was exhibited by some people towards the native people: Indians, Metis and Eskimos, as they were called at that time, with the belated recognition that most native people were in a condition of economic dependence and had few prospects of ever being anything else under the existing system of reserves and government welfare payments.

The third factor which was important in Canadian social change (not unique to it but having different effects here) was the marked increase in the numbers of young people who sought university or college level education and whose summers - and later whose whole years - were not filled, as had been traditional,

with paid employment. Enormous numbers of students travelled across the country every summer with not much on their minds other than having an entertaining time at minimal expense. Finding places for all these people to stay became a headache for officials like the Mayor of Vancouver who was alarmed that his city was expected to cover most of the costs of the "invasion" there.

Gradually, the lack of summer jobs became a problem for students who depended on that employment in order to carry on their studies for the following year and the federal government responded to the need by creating the Opportunities for Youth (OFY) employment program. A further program for projects at other times of year and geared towards local employment was developed: the Local Initiatives Program (LIP). The criteria for receiving funds from LIP were geared to projects which would benefit the local community and, while many had to do with social service projects, a surprisingly large number were focussed on local communications needs, often to do with the community channel of cable TV.

The federal government probably did not see these programs as a way of encouraging social change yet they had a major impact on the young people who were able to carry on over several years a series of activities which were non-commercial and socially oriented. The other characteristics of these activities, however, were that they were often purposeless and unsatisfying to the people involved because of their lack of concrete

accomplishment. In any case, the federal government's concern in those two programs was primarily to reduce the level of unemployment among people of student age and, in that light, the programs could be judged a success. The federal government had already undertaken initiatives in two other areas which had social change as an overt objective: the National Film Board's Challenge for Change program which began in 1967, and the Company of Young Canadians, established in 1966. Both of these organizations were heavily concerned with working with the poor and underprivileged sections of society.

With regard to the need for social improvement for the native people, several government departments and agencies were directly involved: the Secretary of State's native citizens development program, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the CBC through its Northern Service and, later, the Accelerated Coverage Plan.

### Economic Developments

Somewhat apart from the area of social change and social development programs, there were significant industrial developments which resulted in economic changes in Canada which have had relevance to local programming. On a local scale, the increased growth of the cable TV industry in most urban centres continued at an unforeseen rate and made cable TV a major influence on Canadian broadcasting. Although it was not until 1977



that the cable TV industry could claim "the new majority" - the point when more than half of all Canadian households were subscribers to cable TV - the growth of cable TV service through the 1960s was astonishingly fast. Another technology-based industry was also being developed in the 1960s although its economic base and rate of growth were to be quite different: the communications satellite industry. Once Telesat Canada had been able to launch its Anik A series of satellites, the CBC became involved in leasing satellite channels for the carriage of TV signals and later radio signals, mostly with the purpose of improving coverage of the populated areas in the North. The social implications of these economic and political decisions about satellite-broadcast linkages were soon realized and the CBC found itself having to consider ways to develop a specially selected TV program service for some Northern communities.

Gradually through the 60s, and increasingly in the 70s, attention has been focussed on the resource potential of the North and efforts are now underway in several areas to devise methods for resource extraction in this ecologically sensitive area. While the numbers of southerners in the North are still not large, they exert an economic influence out of proportion to their numbers and, since the native population remains small, the southerners have come to outnumber native people in some areas. Moving "up North", even for only a few years, southerners expect to receive as many of the communications services as possible which they could get easily in the South. Satellite communications have proved to be essential to the maintenance

of high-quality communications links in the North although the numbers of people served do not allow the service providers to recoup their costs from the users.

Because of future development of oil and gas pipelines across the North, and because of the Berger Inquiry and Lysyk Inquiry into the social and economic implications for long-time residents of the areas affected (native people and non-native people), attention has been focussed on the land claims of native people and their need to choose their own economic future. The economic effects of land claims settlements will be significant on developments in the North and are by no means resolved yet. Although the need for native people to communicate among themselves and with non-native Canadians had already been recognized by several federal government departments, that need is the much greater when economic self-determination is at issue, as it is in land claims; native people themselves have become increasingly aware of the potential importance of using artificial communications systems such as broadcasting for their own purposes.

#### Technological Advances in North America

These advances have also had an effect on the local programming activities over the past twelve years although the technical changes are very hard to separate from the economic effects of such changes. The most striking development, at first glance at least, has been the introduction of portable video recording

equipment - commonly called the "portapak" and manufactured by Sony Corporation of Japan.

The portable equipment meant that program content could be recorded away from an elaborate studio and also meant that, because of the mass production of these units, production equipment could be affordable by many people and organizations. The "video revolution" loomed large and visions of thousands, if not millions, of people walking across the land taping everything they found were not considered very far-fetched. "Everyone can be his own broadcaster" was the catchphrase and the attractive idea of getting the television industry out of the hands of the media barons and their professional staff into the hands of "the people" exerted a powerful hold for some years.

However, the realities of taping events, especially indoors when light levels were insufficient, the technical difficulties of editing tapes, the problems in repairing and maintaining the equipment, all diminished the enthusiasm of the amateur programming producers. In addition, the half-inch video tape used by the portapak was not welcomed by the community channel managers who preferred to use 1 inch equipment at that time and often refused to accept half-inch tapes because of technical incompatibility with their own equipment. Technical solutions to this incompatibility have been found since 1972 but will probably never be totally satisfactory.

However, the interest in video equipment would not have been anything other than peripheral and transitory if there had not also been the developments associated with the community



channel itself. The TV signal carrying capacity of the coaxial cable itself was the basic discovery, followed by the realization that the cable TV system could originate signals for the VHF channels which were not required for the carriage of off-air broadcast television. The idea quickly became popular that the programming on the spare channels should be of interest to the area served by the cable TV system and this would be a way of increasing the amount of local-level programming available in that area.

A similar, but much less dramatic or immediately noticeable, development occurred in CBC radio when it was realized that transmitters formerly used only for the relaying of a complete radio service from elsewhere could be used for local broadcasts if the incoming network signal could be switched off and the local service switched on. This sort of switching, of course, went on already in radio stations where production facilities existed but the extension of the switching to places where no engineers or technicians would be on hand required the development of simplified and tough equipment which could be operated by anyone.

#### Governmental and Political Changes

There have been significant changes in governmental structure as it relates to communications in Canada. The most important change, of course, was the replacement of the Board of Broadcast Governors by the Canadian Radio Television Commission,

in 1968. The Broadcasting Act of 1968 gave the regulatory body a clear duty to develop a regulatory structure around the cable TV industry which, up to that time, had been controlled only in relation to technical matters.

Very early in its life, the CRTC (led by its Chairman Pierre Juneau and Vice Chairman Harry Boyle) urged the use of the spare channels in a cable TV system to provide a community-level service of information and entertainment to the subscribers in each community. In addition to the community channel, the CRTC also had ideas about the possibilities for providing a local service to communities through CBC radio facilities; the Commission was fairly open to proposals for the licensing of radio stations and one TV station founded and owned in unconventional modes, by non-profit or co-operative organizations for example.

After the establishment of the Department of Communications in 1969, to take over communication matters from the Department of Transport, a series of government task forces and study groups were established to explore the state of telecommunications development in Canada. Following publication of some of these reports, the federal government attempted to develop a national communications policy within which all communications systems could be allowed to develop in line with national objectives. Whether the provincial governments were already interested in extending or reviving their powers in these areas, the federal-provincial conference of ministers responsible for communications in November 1973 certainly evoked a strong response from the

provincial ministers against the federal government's proposals. Since 1973, several provinces, particularly the prairie provinces (where the principal telephone systems are government-owned) and Québec (which has always maintained a strong interest in provincial control of communications for cultural reasons), have sought to establish a legitimate role for themselves in areas which have consistently been determined by the courts to be exclusively federal, according to judicial interpretation of the British North America Act.

Cable TV has been the focus of attention for the provinces because its community-level scope of coverage and its closed circuit nature has made it the strongest case for provincial control - although the courts, including the Supreme Court, have not accepted the provincial view. The Manitoba government's agreement with the government of Canada, signed in 1976, may be the first of several agreements which allow a province to control certain parts of the physical cable TV system in exchange for acknowledging the federal government's exclusive authority in other areas, such as programming content.

The Saskatchewan government has supported the principle of co-operative associations owning cable TV systems in the province and being responsible for running the community channel. However, the licensing practices of the CRTC have not coincided with the provincial government's preference and the cable systems in Saskatchewan are mostly privately owned. As an alternative to the cable TV systems licensed by the CRTC, the Saskatchewan



government has encouraged the establishment of a non-broadcast pay TV service operated by a co-operative organization and using the distribution of coaxial cable plant owned by Saskatchewan Telecommunications (Sask Tel) the provincially owned telephone company. The intention was to provide several channels of specially selected programming to subscribers in the main towns, with development of local programming and extension of the service to smaller towns later. Because of numerous operational difficulties and resulting financial losses, the pay TV co-operative was placed in receivership in December 1978 by the principal lender, Northland Credit Union, and its future is uncertain. The provincial government may revive the co-operative with new loans of money but an announcement has not been made yet.

Because the pay TV co-operative did not at any point transmit through the air, the operation did not come under the heading of broadcasting and, thus, did not require a broadcasting licence from the CRTC. The establishment of this point by the co-operative under the aegis of the Saskatchewan government was an important stage for the province in its determination to exert control over some aspects of communications content within its boundaries.

In Québec, the government has been expressing its determination to control the development of communications services since the early 1970s and has argued strongly for the need to regulate broadcasting within Québec to meet the cultural objectives of the Francophone majority. While the whole field of communications

is of interest to the provincial government, it has had to limit its actions to matters within provincial jurisdiction while federal jurisdiction remains over broadcasting licences for radio, TV and cable TV. Through its regulatory body, Régie des Services Publics (Public Service Board), the province attempted in 1973 to regulate some aspects of the operation of cable TV systems in the province and issued licences which operators were required to have even though they had already received a federal licence.

This dual licence practice came to public attention when the Quebec board issued a licence to a federal licensee whereby he could provide service in a smaller area than the CRTC had authorized; the rest of his franchise area was licensed to another person by the Quebec board. This second person had no licence from the CRTC and was therefore attempting to operate an unlicensed system from the federal government's point of view. A series of court actions ensued, initiated by the disenfranchised cable operator but backed up by the CRTC. The final case before the Supreme Court of Canada was decided in 1978 in favour of the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government and the Quebec board had to reduce its regulatory activities accordingly.

In addition to these attempts at regulation within Quebec, the provincial Ministry of Communications has maintained since 1972 an interest in helping to support community media activities. Since early 1973, the Ministry has provided some financial support,

as well as technical assistance and advice, to a number of organizations in community radio (some licensees); community television (mainly groups interested in programming for the community channel on cable); community newspapers and video animation. This program of support at the provincial level has not been deemed to be an intrusion into federal jurisdiction. Quebec is the only province which has developed a funding program of this type.



## SOURCES OF SUPPORT

There are two different kinds of sources of support which have generally been used or sought by people interested in participating in the new forms of local programming: government support (usually in the form of grants of money); popular support (often in the form of volunteer assistance or donations). One of the interesting features of this type of programming at the local level has been the heavy involvement of the federal government, through various departments and agencies, in providing support for the programming groups until around 1977. The principal departments and agencies involved in providing money, personnel or equipment for the programming activities have been:

Department of the Secretary of State

Department of Employment and Immigration

- Opportunities for Youth
- Local Initiatives Program
- Young Canada Works

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

Department of Communications

Company of Young Canadians

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Northern Service

National Film Board, Challenge for Change/Société Nouvelle

It is interesting to speculate why there should be a heavy involvement of federal rather than provincial governments. On the surface, the answer is that provincial funding of organizations engaged in broadcasting would be an intrusion into the

federal government's exclusive authority to regulate broadcasting. However, many of the programming groups are not broadcast licensees and should not be considered as part of the broadcasting system for licensing purposes. Another more plausible reason for federal government involvement relates to the needs of native people throughout Canada and to all people in the Yukon and Northwest Territories; the responsibility of the federal government is clear while provincial government efforts for the improvement of the lives of native people in the provinces have been relatively minor.

A third reason, which is much less substantive, is that the federal government in the past twelve years has taken a strong role in proposing and implementing social action policies and programs in a range of fields such as health, urban living, the poor, native people, the environment and so on. While provincial governments are empowered to initiate programs along similar lines, the funding for these programs is much more difficult to find at the provincial level than at the federal level. The principal exception to this has been Québec.

One major source of indirect support at the federal level, especially in cable television, has been the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). Without the encouragement of the community channel idea and the policies and regulations requiring its establishment throughout the cable TV industry, it is doubtful if more than a handful of cable TV systems would have made the channel available and operational for their subscribers.

In radio, the CRTC has encouraged the development of community access to CBC radio facilities and has at least accepted (at best, enthusiastically endorsed) the efforts of other people to establish local radio stations which are in some sense community owned. As far as we are aware, the CRTC has not provided material support (in money or other assistance) to any of these endeavours; however, because of its licensing authority, the Commission has been in the position of being able to encourage certain developments.

In some cases, federal government support for the new local programming has been direct and intended for that purpose while other sources of support have been indirect and may have had quite other purposes initially. Direct support has been provided by the Secretary of State, Communications, CBC and, to a lesser extent, Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Indirectly, the major support has come from employment schemes such as Opportunities for Youth and the Local Initiatives Program.

Federal departments and agencies other than those listed above have contributed to local programming activities in an indirect way. For example, there was the four-year grant from the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE), given through Memorial University's Extension Service to the Community Learning Centres Project in Newfoundland and Labrador. The Department of National Health and Welfare has provided money on a contractual basis to some groups who have produced video tape programs on health problems and issues. Canada Council initiated a pilot programme of Assistance to Community-Radio which was of



assistance to some groups interested in radio programming although the future of this programme is in doubt. The Council's Explorations programme and its grants to video artists have already been of use to video groups or individuals interested in improving on video techniques and production - although the production may not have been intended for showing on the community channel or by a TV station.

We turn now to a review of those departments and agencies which appear to have had a significant effect on the level and extent of local programming activities in a number of communities across Canada. Clearly, the activities have not been spread evenly across the country and also clearly the involvement of one federal department may have affected - or led to - the involvement of another. No attempt can be made here to disentangle the influence of one department from another. What we have tried to do is to pinpoint the areas where federal government activity has affected the activities of people in communities to the extent of creating or encouraging the creation of the new forms of local programming in the broadcasting system.

#### Department of the Secretary of State

During the late 1960s a major expansion occurred in this Department to extend monetary assistance to a wide range of people under various "programs". The Social Action Branch (at that time) had several programs which provided grants to people at the community level or to be used at the community

level: social animation training; youth activities; cultural centres; cultural exchange; ethnic participation; Indian (native) participation.

In 1971, a new program was launched to provide employment for young people all across Canada: Opportunities for Youth (OFY) which was funded to the tune of \$22.5 million. The OFY Program had no direct link with community-level social programs nor with communications projects. Yet it did provide the means for many young people who had an interest in community-level communications - especially community cable TV - to follow up that interest for a few months in the summer of 1971. The following summer of 1972 saw a repeat, on an expanded scale, of the OFY program and, again, a number of young people organized ad hoc groups to apply for employment under this program. A large number of media groups of temporary duration relied on this source of funding for their official existence as groups. In 1974, the OFY program was transferred to the Department of Manpower and Immigration, which then was responsible for both OFY and the Local Initiatives Program (LIP). With OFY in summer and LIP in winter, for a couple of years, community groups were able to maintain a year-round existence but dependent entirely on government support. When that support ceased or was reduced, most of the groups disintegrated very quickly.

In 1974, the Citizens' Participation Directorate was set up with three program areas: a) assistance to community groups; b) social communications; c) group understanding and human rights. The assistance to community groups was in the form of grants

to: encourage the exchange and sharing of information and resources among organizations; encourage organizations to develop democratic structures and programs; assist them to acquire the necessary skills, resources and information; increase the exchange of information between government and citizens; through the Student Community Service Program, channel the energy and imagination of youth into the voluntary sector. Grants to groups under this program could be used to support activities such as the production of video programming for the community channel or even for radio programming.

Meanwhile, the provision of grants to native people had proceeded apace with development of assistance programs for citizens generally. In 1970, the Department organized a Native Citizens Development program, under the Citizenship Branch, to provide monetary support to native groups for several purposes - one of which was to assist native communications societies. In 1971, the native citizens development program had \$5.2 million to spend.

In 1973, the Department established a Native Communications policy, approved by Cabinet, and funded for a five year period. In 1978, eleven native communications societies received funds under this program; more may be added if the program is carried on. Most societies have developed from the communications units of political organizations in the various provinces and territories. The societies have to be structurally independent of the political organizations. Each society is responsible for improving communications for native people, both among themselves



and with the Canadian people generally.

The area which a communications society consider itself responsible for depends on the location of native people in the province or territory. Some serve native people in only part of one province; none extend beyond such political boundaries. Of course, there are many other native organizations which represent native people nationally and which also engage in communications activities. However, the latter organizations were not formed especially to benefit from this particular funding program.

The native communications societies funded under this policy differ widely in what they are doing, in their resources, the areas they cover and in their objectives - as one would expect, given the varying needs of different people in different parts of Canada. Most of the societies are responsible for producing a newspaper for native people in their area and some, though not all, engage in some programming for radio broadcast by stations in their area.

Most of the societies came into existence in order to qualify for funds from this program so this could be an example of activity being caused by government, rather than simply assisted by it. Without government support, it is doubtful if the broadcast-related activities by native groups could be undertaken. There are always difficult questions about the limitations imposed by the framework of any support program and how much the framework or the criteria for funding may restrict the activities of the groups being funded. In the case of

native organizations, these difficulties are especially acute because of the heavy dependence of most native people on government aid to satisfy basic survival needs.

In 1974, the Department of the Secretary of State collaborated with the CBC to develop the Northern Broadcasting Plan, in co-operation with DOC, CRTC and DIAND. The Plan was to be "aimed at extending and improving radio and television coverage and service to people in the North, with special attention to community programming and reception of satellite transmission." The Plan has not been implemented to date because the CBC has been unable to obtain the public funds necessary for its completion but a great deal has been done through the CBC Northern Service and the Office of Community Radio to increase northern peoples' reception and participation in CBC radio.

#### Department of Employment and Immigration

As already mentioned, the employment scheme known as OFY provided the opportunity to many young people to work on media-related projects for a few months. The Local Initiatives Program of this Department (formerly known as Manpower and Immigration) provided a similar opportunity for all adults.

The Local Initiatives Program was launched in the winter of 1971-72 to provide employment as well as to improve the "quality of life". Participation in the program was open to everyone who was unemployed, regardless of skills, education or background. Projects requesting support could be sponsored by

any group or sector of society; grants were to be given to established local organizations, citizens groups or groups formed especially for the purpose of carrying out projects. The LIP program was continued in 1972-73.

In 1974, the OFY program was transferred from the Department of the Secretary of State to Manpower's administration. Since the demise of the OFY-LIP duo, other programs of more limited applicability have been devised to provide partial employment: LEAP, Young Canada Works, Canada Works, etc. The governments of most provinces also have schemes for the summer employment of students in their area. The terms of reference of these schemes vary from place to place and from year to year; their applicability for groups or individuals wishing to work on program production for radio or television broadcast is more limited but still possible.

#### Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

It is difficult to discover the extent of DIAND support, either directly or indirectly, to local programming activities. In the Territories, the Department has a Northern Co-ordination and Social Development Branch under which some minimal assistance is given to Inuit groups and individuals who are making films in their own language. The group Nunatsiakmiut in Frobisher Bay has been assisted partially by DIAND as well as by the National Film Board Challenge for Change program. Native associations do receive funding from DIAND, for land claims



activities among other things, and it is possible that some of that funding might be viewed as indirect support for the local programming activities of those associations or their communications units.

#### Department of Communications

The most direct support from the DOC has been provided under the Northern Pilot Project which was implemented during 1972 and 1973 in two regions: the Keewatin District of the N.W.T. and Northern Ontario. The project was concerned with the improvement of communications services in remote areas and was innovative in the sense that it involved the local people in planning, operation and evaluation of the communications systems. Much of the work in developing better services was concentrated on High Frequency radio because the need for this type of service was strongly felt by the local people. The development of broadcast radio was of lesser importance in terms of the whole project although it was important to the people directly involved. In Baker Lake, N.W.T., and Big Trout Lake, Ontario, the DOC installed community radio stations to be run by the local people, organized into communications societies for that purpose.

Much of the DOC's current activities are directed towards improving the whole communications environment in rural and remote areas; various experiments are ongoing to develop better two-way communications links in the North. A good deal of attention also has had to go to the development of the

telecommunications networks in mid Canada and the Far North. This has had indirect effects on the broadcasting service received in small Northern communities because the CBC network signals can then be delivered direct. If regional or sub-regional networks of radio stations are to become more developed, the necessary public funds have to be made available.

### Company of Young Canadians

This organization no longer exists but it was active during the late 1960s and 1970s and very much involved in a range of media activities. The CYC was a crown corporation established by statute in 1966, the role of the corporation being to "support, encourage and develop programmes for social, economic and community development in Canada, or abroad, through voluntary service". The idea seems to have been to develop a voluntary youth corps along the lines of the Peace Corps in the U.S. Although it was authorized to work outside Canada, so far as we know it remained entirely within this country. A number of projects were undertaken by the CYC between 1966 and 1974, many of which had a communications element in them. Projects generally required the employment of community development techniques and the use of social animators to encourage action by people in the community. CYC volunteers were active in a number of communities where local programming for broadcasting did result - partially from that activity and partially from other factors affecting local participation; for example, they had projects in Calgary, Ottawa-Hull

(where the ill-fated co-operative television station was established), the Rouyn area in northwest Quebec and the Lake Nipigon area in northwest Ontario.

### Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Northern Service

The CBC radio and television networks operating primarily in southern Canada have traditionally had network programs and local program times built into the weekly schedules. However, the Northern Service which has provided radio service (and more recently some television service) to communities in Northern Canada has been the focus of efforts over a number of years to provide programs of local relevance to native people, usually in their own dialects and languages. The Northern Service has, of course, the obligation to serve all people in the North but the wholesale importation of network programs from the South is recognized as being less useful to native people than it is to southern Canadians living in the North.

Northern Service radio has been developing since 1958, its extension of coverage until 1972 being dependent on the development of land lines wherever possible or the provision of taped network programs in some instances. Shortwave radio has been much used although it is not especially reliable in some areas but it does provide some service to remote communities which would otherwise be unserved.

With the launching of the Anik satellites and the subsequent leasing by CBC of three channels (mostly for network television



but also capable of carrying network radio to any remote community equipped with the appropriate earth station technology), it became possible for CBC to extend radio and television service to any remote communities requesting service. Network service by itself is not enough to provide a complete service of information - or even entertainment - to remote communities, which also need local and regional programming to fill out the schedule. In the North, the CBC has encouraged and assisted people in remote communities, to produce some radio (and more recently video) programs for broadcast in the local areas.

In 1972, the first community radio experiment was initiated at Espanola, Ontario, to test the possibilities for local people to participate in program production for transmission at the local CBC radio station. Community access of this type was proposed because it was clearly seen by the Corporation that, as more and more small communities received CBC service via a local transmitter, it would become increasingly difficult for the CBC to provide local programming on the usual basis. Normally, a local radio station owned by the CBC could be expected to have some studio facilities and a professional news staff, however small in number.

With the beginning of the Accelerated Coverage Plan and the proposal for a Northern Broadcasting Plan, it was evident that the CBC would be establishing rebroadcaster stations in many communities far too small to justify the allocation of CBC staff. The alternative was for the local people to undertake at least some informational programming to supplement the network service

and Espanola was the first place when the CBC tried out this idea. It appears to have worked well, if only temporarily, and other community radio experiments followed in Rankin Inlet and Fort Good Hope.

By 1974, CBC English Services Division was able to establish a policy on community radio and the Office of Community Radio came into existence to co-ordinate the establishment of community access agreements between the Corporation and specific community-representative organizations. At present, there are at least twelve communities which have arrived at agreements with the CBC for access to the Low Power Relay Transmitter (LPRT) in their areas. Others will follow as CBC is able to accommodate the requests made.

However, many communities in the mid North and North do not have such access arrangements and, if they receive any local programming at all, it would be by one of two means. Firstly, the CBC itself is establishing "regional production centres" wherever possible to produce more local programs. Where that is not yet possible, the CBC may buy programs from local associations which can undertake such work. By providing split feed service to some communities, the CBC is able to vary the programs available from one group of communities to another. This breakdown of the network of radio transmitters is by no means complete but the process has been started in the North and in some parts of the northern parts of the provinces.

The second means for variation in local mix of radio programming is when the local radio station (usually in the remoter

communities although not always) is owned and operated by a community association. It may undertake some local programming and may also act as an affiliate of the CBC network, thus obtaining much of the network programming. The effective mix of programming received in a small community may be much the same by either of the above means but the difference is in cost to the people in the community; community access to a CBC LPRT costs virtually nothing in monetary terms while a community-owned station has to have a transmitter installed and maintained, together with basic studio equipment.

Television service at the local level is a rather more complex question for CBC than radio has been. At present, only two communities have been permitted to use a local TV transmitter to broadcast local program material. Prior to the use of Anik for provision of network television service, some communities in the mid North and North were receiving Frontier Coverage Package (FCP) television programs consisting of four hours per day of taped programming from the network. Via Anik, the Northern television service has been the provision of much of the current English language TV network programming supplemented by purchases of program packages considered especially suitable for Northern viewers.

The establishment of a television production centre at Yellowknife is now being undertaken but production there will be extremely limited. The intention is to purchase productions from free-lance film-makers in the North for use on the Northern Service schedule. The extent of native language programs or



northern television is now 30 minutes each week; 15 minutes are produced from Montreal and 15 minutes are produced by Nunatsiakmiut in Frobisher Bay. All of this 30 minute programming is in the Inuktitut language of Eastern Arctic Inuit so that the soundtrack is not comprehensible to native people in the Western Arctic, whether Indian or Inuit. The extent of local programming on television in the North is extremely limited and likely to remain so for some time to come, while the CBC tries to encourage the development of production skills among Northern people.

National Film Board, Challenge for Change/Société Nouvelle

The Challenge for Change/Société Nouvelle program of the NFB has been a major focus of efforts to support new local programming activities. The program was set up in 1967, as a pilot project for two years. In 1969, the program was set up for five years as "an experimental program to accelerate understanding and acceptance of the need for constructive change in contemporary society". Half the cost of the program was covered by the NFB while the other half was paid for or supported in other ways by up to seventeen government departments. About six departments provided funds directly to the program at the beginning.

It is not entirely clear if the intention from the start was to do more than produce and distribute films of selected topics related to social change. In any case, the experiments

in community involvement and social animation attempted in Fogo Island, Newfoundland, and St. Jérôme, Québec, led to similar efforts in other communities which were also in the grip of poverty. Much emphasis in the early years of the program was placed on the poor and underprivileged in society, whether as whole communities or as groups within larger cities and towns.

In 1968, the program began to experiment with the use of what was then called VTR (video tape recording) instead of film as the medium to encourage a process of change within the community. The production and distribution of a Newsletter describing the program's work became important because it informed a wider range of people that there were possibilities in VTR for social action. In undertaking its projects in selected communities, the program intended not only to make films about those communities but also to teach people there how to use video tape and film to make their own statements. The NFB undertook to lend VTR equipment to groups in some communities with the idea that the usage would allow the development of a core of "media-literate" people who could carry on work once the Board staff had withdrawn.

Among other projects in 1970, the program staff worked with a group in Thunder Bay, Ontario, who were using a channel on the local cable TV system to show video tapes to their community about local matters. The cable program was called "Town Talk" and there could be up to 4 hours telecast a week. In the Lac St.-Jean region of Québec, a project by the Société Nouvelle program (the French language counterpart of the English language Challenge for Change) conducted a more elaborate experiment to

create citizen access to cable TV; the intention was to create three community television channels in the area, centred on Normandin, Dolbeau-Mistassini and St.-Félicien. The experience gained from working in Winnipeg and Vancouver to encourage the possibility for citizen access to cable TV, together with the program's own work with video tape technology, led the program staff to prepare a brief to the CRTC on the occasion of the Commission's Public Hearings on cable TV policy in spring 1971. A special issue of the Challenge for Change Newsletter (No. 6) on "Community Cable Television and You" was published and widely distributed; 36,000 copies were printed of this issue, about three times as many as usual.

Individuals and groups in many other communities across Canada began to investigate the possibilities of using community cable TV and the NFB program assisted groups in Hamilton, London, Vancouver and Montreal to originate community cable TV programming of local interest. Vidéographe in Montréal was started as a production centre and video tape theatre in the downtown area, sponsored by the program initially.

After 1974, the program became less involved in video tape production and returned more to its original work of producing films about social problems and social issues, with less involvement of the people being filmed. The original focus on the poor and problems associated with poverty was broadened to look at urban problems, women's rights, minorities' rights and the quality of life. The program's continuation after 1974 was



authorized for a further three years to March 31, 1977, and again renewed for one more year to March 31, 1978. Its present status is under review by the departments which have participated in its funding and by the Board itself.

### Provincial Governments

At the provincial level, support for the new forms of local programming has been uneven. The government of Québec has participated more actively than any other province, through its Ministry of Communications (MCQ) and through Radio Québec. Some of the community-level communications activities initiated by the NFB Société Nouvelle, for instance, have been maintained by funding from MCQ when the NFB initiatives were withdrawn. In Northern Québec, MCQ has provided financial assistance to some of the isolated Inuit settlement associations which maintain community radio stations. In other parts of the province, MCQ has administered an aid program for community media and has provided annual operating grants to a number of community radio stations. The "télévision communautaire" associations (TVCs) are also eligible for some funding on an annual basis as are community radio groups which have not yet applied for a radio station licence.

Radio Québec, as the provincial educational broadcasting service, had intended to decentralize some of the program production for its television service by having some programming undertaken under the auspices of regional councils; however a

long strike by staff in 1978 has left the future of such plans uncertain.

The only other province which appears to be directly encouraging the development of local programming is Saskatchewan, which has encouraged the establishment of co-operatives to run the community channel and other programming services of new cable TV systems in that province. The final settlement has not yet been made on how all cable TV services in Saskatchewan are to be provided nor what will be the interrelationship between the Saskatchewan government, Sask Tel, the private cable TV operators, programming service co-operatives, the CRTC and the federal Cabinet. At present, two of the four cable TV systems recently licensed in the province are run by co-operative associations.

Three other co-operatives were formed in 1977 to provide a closed-circuit pay TV service in Regina, Saskatoon and Moose Jaw. These organizations were established under the encouragement and indirect support of the provincial government. One of the responsibilities of these co-ops was to produce local and regional programming for Saskatchewan viewers. However, only a limited amount of such programming could be originated before the pay TV network was placed in receivership in December 1978, after less than a year of operation. The network's future is uncertain.

The Newfoundland government, especially through the Extension Service of Memorial University, has long been involved in community development work and using media in a non-broadcast

context to promote social betterment in the outlying communities of the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador. For these purposes, broadcast radio and television do not seem to be useful but that may come about later on.

### Public Support

The support provided by non-government sources has been much less significant in money terms - especially in relation to federal government contributions - but this unofficial support may prove to be more important in the long term. Excluding the financial support provided to professional staff employed by cable TV operators (which comes from cable TV subscriber fees), the types of public support can be listed as follows:

- a) sponsorship of programs, free air-time;
- b) membership fees, annual dues to societies, subscriptions;
- c) advertising (usually indirect advertising);
- d) donations (sometimes tax-deductible);
- e) bingo games, telethons, benefit concerts;
- f) volunteer work, donated equipment or facilities;
- g) foundation grants;
- h) program sales.

From the information available to us, it appears that the types of support used from one programming group to another depend on several factors, not least of which is whether or not the group is a broadcast licensee. Other factors are: the type



of institutional structure used by the group (e.g. co-operative, non-profit society, charitable organization, etc.); the availability of government funds; the social cohesiveness of the local community; the strength or weakness of the tradition of volunteer activity locally; the representational character of the programming group in relation to its surrounding community.

For organizations which are broadcasting licensees, the basic problem now is the lack of a steady and predictable annual revenue base. Community radio licensees are finding difficulty in raising sufficient revenues to cover essential operating and equipment costs.

The availability of federal government funds to support various programming activities has been a vital aid in getting most community radio stations established. However, most of these funds are not being provided any more and the resultant need for stations to switch fund-raising methods has been most seriously felt within the past year.

A few provincial governments have expressed an interest in providing some financial aid but the Québec government has the only developed aid program so far. Provincial government funds could become increasingly important as the federal government reduces its support. However, all government funding has the same basic disadvantage of encouraging dependency and of subtle direction to the funded organization through the encouragement of particular kinds of activities.

The problem is how to obtain revenue from sources other than government or direct advertising, the normal sources of

support for broadcasting stations in this country.

As far as advertising is concerned, the CRTC has tended to discourage community and campus radio stations from using advertising (even institutional or indirect advertising) for most of their revenue, preferring instead that the local people provide tangible support through donations, subscriptions or other fund-raising devices.

Subscriber fees for membership in the co-operative or association which operates the station have not proved to be sufficient to cover expenses. Fund-raising drives of various kinds and attempts to get donations from local businesses, organizations and individuals in the area of service are now being actively explored.

Without minimal financial support, many stations now in existence could not function. Non-financial support is also important not just in terms of substituting for dollars but as a sign of community support. In the use of volunteers' time and skills, a station can provide for much of what it needs to operate. The degree to which volunteers can be relied on to provide active support is the most important question now facing community radio stations. However, certain major capital expenditures on transmitting equipment and other operating expenditures on services such as heat, light, telephone and accommodation are not usually supplied by volunteers.

## CHAPTER IV

### PARTICIPATION IN NEW LOCAL PROGRAMMING

The social trends and financial aid described in the previous chapter set the stage for the involvement of many people in local programming from the late 1960s to the present. There has been a turnover of people involved; many who were active for a couple of years in the early 1970s are no longer involved. However, some have maintained an interest over five or more years. In the beginning, ideas about participation, access, social change and other social motivations were very influential and brought many of the early volunteers into local programming. Later, others joined in whose main motive was one of publicity or public relations. An opportunity to have their viewpoint (an individual's or a group's) on television was an attraction for many of the later volunteers to the community channel on cable TV.

These two motivations of democratization and publicity are not particularly compatible but there has been a greater problem than compatibility: the lack of audience for the programming produced. In all but a few small towns, the percentage of potential audience for the community channel has been too small to be measurable by normal survey methods. The community-at-large has remained almost entirely oblivious of the channel's existence and its purpose, despite some efforts by the cable operators to publicize programs. Lack of audience for community radio stations has created, for some, problems in lack of material support for



the station and, for others, difficulty in getting sufficient volunteers to spend time in working at the station. Lack of measurable audience for programs broadcast on commercial radio and TV had led to pressure from the licensees for reduction or elimination of the assignment of air-time to community-oriented groups.

It is extremely difficult to generalize about the way in which new local programming has been developed and the kinds of people involved because each broadcasting medium has a different institutional and programming structure so people are involved in different ways in each medium. Therefore, it is necessary to look at each broadcast medium separately and to comment on the actions of licensees as well as of non-licensees in cable TV, radio and TV. We will look at cable TV first because this is where the majority of people have been involved in new local programming.

## CABLE TV PROGRAMMING

### Licensees

Cable TV licensees were not usually interested in becoming involved in community programming when this development was first proposed by the CRTC and others. Some licensees were cooperative from the start, but most of them were quite content to be the re-broadcasters of signals and content prepared by others. They did not see themselves as programmers but as salesmen or technical systems operators. However, it became clear through CRTC licence decisions and the public hearings which preceded, that the Commission looked with favour on those who established a community channel and made an effort to produce programming for it.

Through the years 1971 to 1976, there were many community channels established although quite a few looked better on paper than in reality. The cable operators were under pressure from local groups, quite often media groups, to provide a more effective channel, to allow greater access to the channel for outside groups and to provide better facilities for program production. Many local groups intervened at CRTC public hearings and had some effect (though not enough, in their opinion) on the behaviour of the licensee involved. Some licensees took the hint and began to purchase better production equipment; set up a small production studio; purchase mobile production equipment; hire staff (full-time and part-time) to work with people from

the community in producing programming. Some set up advisory councils with representation from the community to advise on programming goals; many of the councils were in Québec but most of them appear to have been ineffective in influencing the way in which programming was designed for their area.

Meanwhile, local groups remained unhappy with developments because they were unable to get full access to the channel. The groups which had video equipment of their own found they could not get their finished tapes shown on the community channel. Several reasons were frequently used by the cable operators: the tapes were incompatible with the playback machines of the operator's facilities; the quality of the production was too poor to be shown on the channel; the content of the production was too controversial or might lead to lawsuits against the cable operator. There was, in fact, no right of access to the channel; although some groups believed there was or should be, it was never achieved.

There was some confusion here between American practice and Canadian practice. In the U.S., a number of cable systems had public access channels which the cable operators were required to provide either by the local regulatory board or by the Federal Communications Commission. The channels provided were open to anyone who wished to show a video tape but the cable operator was not obliged to provide any production equipment for public use. In Canada, the cable operator remains liable for the content of all programs on the community channel so he retains control over what is transmitted.



As the cable operator's staff became more experienced in a new style of program production from that practised by conventional TV stations, the employees have tended to develop a professional attitude of their own. The employees who began in what was a new field had to learn to adapt production techniques to allow for the participation of volunteers from the community with varying levels of skill; some learned fast, others are still learning. Since 1977, there has emerged a new awareness among the professional programmers that they do have special skills that are needed for their work, they are now less afraid of being regarded as poor man's television by the conventional broadcasters. They also realize that the quality of their work has a direct bearing on the way in which the CRTC evaluates the performance of the licensed operator so they can, if somewhat indirectly, contribute to the prosperity of the licensee. In the much more crucial area of future program services, cable operators have realized that a good performance as community programmers can be used in their favour to persuade the federal government of their qualifications to be programmers for other purposes such as pay TV.

The kind of programming that the cable system's programming staff is most involved in is in a studio setting with an interview format to discuss a range of subjects of general interest. Sometimes, the interviewer is a volunteer, with the production crew being staff. In other instances, the interviewer is a staff member. Another very common type of programming where it is technically possible, is the taping or live transmission

of municipal council meetings; these meetings are not covered (except maybe as news clips on special occasions) by conventional TV stations. A third fairly common type of program is coverage of local sports events involving amateur contestants or in a sport rarely covered by the TV stations. The balance of program mix in the schedule of the community channel is determined by the senior programmer; the programming coordinator or director are usual titles. Depending on the personality of the senior programmer, the rest of the staff may be heavily involved in recruiting new programming volunteers and in suggesting new program ideas for staff to develop or they may simply work in the studio on productions defined by the senior programmer. The relationship of the program staff to the people in their service area depends very much on how well they are able to understand the complexities of the social and cultural character of the area.

In a 1978 survey\* of the community channel, the CRTC found there were 274 cable TV systems with an actively-programming community channel; the total number of cable TV systems at the time was 435. The CRTC researchers also estimated that approximately 20,000 individuals and 5,300 groups had participated in some way on community channel programming during the first six months of 1978. The number of paid staff employed by the cable operator on a full-time or part-time basis varies directly with the size of the cable system. Systems with fewer than 3,000

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\* CRTC, Cable Television: Survey of the Community Channel (Ottawa, March 1979).

subscribers may have no paid staff or only one part-timer while systems with over 25,000 subscribers probably have a staff of at least five people full-time and others part-time.

There have been a few attempts by cable operators to develop local programming for special interests, in the last three years. One development in Toronto was the establishment of a multi-lingual channel by Rogers Cable TV, to accommodate repeat broadcasts of foreign language programs broadcast by TV stations in the Toronto area and also carrying ethnic programming produced by local ethnic associations and companies specializing in that type of program. By doing this, the operator freed up the community channel for all other possible uses by the people in its service area while providing more time for programs of interest to the many ethnic groups in the city. (The multi-lingual channel had to be placed on the converter service so that a subscriber required a channel converter in order to receive it but this additional expense plus the converter service fee is not required to receive a number of additional channels in the Toronto area and is not special to the multi-lingual channel.)

Télécâble Vidéotron, serving several suburbs across the St. Lawrence River from Montréal, has developed a cable TV system which provides 32 channels of programming, of which eight are for requested broadcast material and films in various categories of interest - such as children, social affairs and senior citizens. In addition, there are three channels for: visual arts (amateur films); local and regional news; community (local video productions). Scarboro Cable TV in Metropolitan Toronto has developed



a children's channel which carries mainly repeats of children's programs broadcast by TV stations in the area, supplemented by suitable films and some local productions for children by the cable operator's staff.

### Media Groups

Among non-licensees active in local programming for cable TV, many of the earliest people involved were interested in media techniques and were keen to use video tools for artistic and social purposes. They were very determined to get full access to the community channel as a way of opening up communications systems to popular use. We call these media-conscious people in association the media groups; there were, of course, individuals active too. Many of the early media groups had their own video equipment, primarily the Sony Portapak, but quite often needed editing equipment to complete the tapes to their satisfaction. They became interested in teaching other people how to use video equipment - in the late 1960s portable video equipment was quite new - and encouraging them to make their own productions.

The National Film Board's Challenge for Change/Société Nouvelle program was instrumental in encouraging people to use video as a tool of social animation or community development and also in providing media groups with video equipment to do this teaching in communities in different regions of Canada: Calgary, Vancouver, Toronto, Montréal, Normandin and Thunder Bay. Some of the media groups focussed on working with underprivileged

sections of the community, others were open to all but with a predisposition to help lower income groups first.

Many media groups sprang into existence for two years or less when the federal government's OFY and LIP grants first became available and were fairly easy to obtain. People involved in such a group often joined other groups when their own folded at the termination of their grant. Some of these people have maintained their interest to the present. Others went on to other activities, some related to community service.

Much of the emphasis of media groups was on the need to develop alternative media as a counter-force to the pervasive commercial marketing environment in which the mass media function in North America. They wanted to have the community channel developed as the vehicle to carry alternative video programs. It became increasingly clear that cable operators were unsympathetic, even hostile, to this type of use for the community channel and conflict between operators and media groups became frequent.

The argument revolved for a time around the need for access rights to the community channel for anyone who wished to show a program tape. But, when it became apparent that the licensing authority, the CRTC, was reluctant to absolve the licensees of their responsibilities for the content of the community channel, the right of access idea soon became unrealistic. Media groups then turned to look at several other possibilities: (1) to seek ways to form an umbrella organization which could represent all the groups and interests in the community and which could then

deal one-to-one with the cable operator in determining how the programming time and resources were distributed in the community; (2) to seek ways to acquire the assets of the cable TV system so that the subscribers to the system would become the owners and would then be able to devote more resources to the community channel or channels; (3) to seek ways by which the community channel could be separated from the operator's control and run by the community or its representatives, the funding for the channel to come from the gross revenues of the cable TV system.

Unfortunately for most media groups, none of these three possibilities proved to be practical. In the first instance, the cable operators refused to regard the umbrella organization as representative of the whole community but rather as one special interest group among many. In the second case, the cost of acquiring any of the urban cable TV systems in question was far beyond the means of any non-commercial group without any resources or financial backing. Even if the financing were available, the incumbent licensee was not obliged to sell the assets of its system to a non-commercial group and the CRTC had no licence challenge procedure to permit the ousting of a licensee which had fulfilled the minimal requirements of its licence. In the third case, the separation of the community channel from the rest of cable TV system was not acceptable to the CRTC or most operators, at least not on any terms proposed to date.

Examples of media groups which tried to be umbrella organizations were Metro Media in Vancouver, DCTV in Toronto, Conseil de Développement des Médias Communautaires of Québec and Teled



Video in Halifax. As far as owning the cable TV system was concerned, the example of Campbell River, B.C., continued to prompt people in the belief that it could be done again. The formation of Capital Cable Cooperative in Victoria was an effort to take over the assets of the principal cable TV system in that city. Despite a great deal of work on the part of CCC members, their efforts have been fruitless; basically, they have failed because the CRTC has had no procedural method of dealing with the transfer of licence between one party and another unless both parties were willing to have such a transfer take place. In the case of a community group being able to run the community channel without the overall control of the operator, we know of only three places where this had occurred: in Saint-Félicien, Granby and Ville de la Baie, all in Québec.

We do not want to give the impression that all the groups and individuals interested in the community channel in the early 1970s were looking at the channel purely as an alternative to the commercial media. There were a substantial number of young people then who were interested in video as a medium in itself; these were people who were intrigued by the creative and artistic possibilities of video as a medium of expression and who had probably done some work already with film. These people were often referred to, dismissively, as the "video freaks" and in most cases their interest since then has faded. Through such groups as Video Inn in Vancouver, Vidéographe in Montreal and Video Theatre in Halifax, some individuals have maintained their interest in the medium, whether the material is ever broadcast

or not. The artists may have been supported in the past by OFY and LIP grants when those were available but they have since come to rely on arts organizations and principally on the Canada Council for support.

### Ethnic Groups

Groups which organize on behalf of various ethnic minorities in Canada have appeared fairly frequently on the community channel, at least in the cities. Newly arrived immigrants, who arrive from countries whose culture and language is very different from the French or English majority in which they find themselves, have tended to live at least for a time in the cities, clustered together for self-protection and familiarity; the "ethnic" character of certain city neighbourhoods has become very evident.

Since the community channel is expected to reflect the interests of the people in a particular area of the city, it quickly has become a satisfactory arrangement both with the ethnic groups and with the cable TV operators that some of the weekly schedule should be done in a variety of foreign languages. Programs for Italians, Greeks, Portuguese, Chinese and East Indians are fairly common in the larger cities and various other nationalities can be found in smaller cities and towns, depending on the ethnic mix of the specific places. There are several advantages of this use of the community channel: the cable TV operator is able to satisfy demands for program time for clearly

identifiable segments of the community he is to serve; much of the program cost is borne by the cultural group and probably consists of films or tapes of events in the home country; the cultural group is happy to be able to reach fellow countrymen who presumably all have TV sets and can be informed of the program times fairly easily.

The programming provided by and for ethnic groups is ostensibly non-political although there have been problems behind the scenes with conflicts between segments holding different political beliefs, especially with regard to the current government in their home country. In a way, deciding that the culture of an ethnic group is best reflected in arts and crafts or dance is a political statement because it assumes that current political events in the homeland are unimportant.

Some of the people engaged in producing programming for ethnic groups are really professional programmers, not volunteers. Some of that has spilled over into the community channel although most of it is intended for broadcast TV and radio. There is no doubt that some of the volunteers are people who have had experience in radio or TV in their home country and would like to become professionals in this country; they hope to break into the business by gaining some experience on the community channel.

### Social Groups

This encompasses a very wide range of organizations; some are temporary and entirely voluntary while others have a long



history and employ some permanent staff. Also included in this category are social service agencies, both volunteer-based or government-based. Many of the groups have always been interested in the community channel for its publicity value, in the sense of providing information about services which are available to the general public or providing special information to a particular segment of the public, for example the deaf and hard of hearing. A few of the social groups are more socially activist and have been interested in encouraging social change or changes in attitude towards certain segments of society. In the category of social groups, we would also include voters' organizations, civic improvement and tenants' groups, arts councils and amateur sports clubs.

In the early 1970s, when many media groups were active, the social organizations sometimes found themselves being encouraged to use the community channel, to get their message across to the public. The idea of being in charge of what they wanted to say was attractive to some groups and they cooperated with the media groups to produce video tapes. Several problems arose from this which were insurmountable for many social groups: (1) the production of the tapes took up an immense amount of their volunteer time, both for the taping and editing; (2) the tapes were usually not shown on the community channel because, for one reason or another, the cable TV operator did not like their quality; (3) even if the tape got shown on the community channel, there was probably little, if any, advance publicity of it and the audience reaction was negligible. The groups quickly decided

that in most instances they wanted nothing more to do with the community channel until the cable TV operator hired his own staff and was prepared to put some effort into the programming.

At present, social or volunteer groups do use the community channel periodically to explain what they are doing in the community but very few of them rely on the community channel as their sole media effort or their only way of explaining what they do. The audience for the community channel is usually not measurable in numbers yet and groups which have no particular section of the community in mind when they prepare programs must settle for a very small audience response. An organization such as Interchurch Television, however, knows the audience it most wishes to reach is a church-going audience and its print publicity is aimed at those people through church groups. The size of the audience is not particularly important if the people who are the intended audience are watching and good response can be expected from the programs.

Many groups are interested in reaching a very broad audience, or even the whole city, in which case it is more sensible to approach the commercial media or CBC and try to get wider coverage that way. If they can get additional publicity by having a group representative appear on an interview program on the community channel, they will do that if they feel the extra effort required is minor.

Another type of group which we include in the category of social group is that of the religious organization. Some might argue they should have a category to themselves but it is

difficult to justify this because there are a number of groups concerned with social issues, with the moral issues underlying social events and it is a short step from there to the specific morality of religious groups. Some of them are evangelical in nature and tend to have programs very similar in style (though not in production budget) to the religious programming done by evangelists for conventional TV in the U.S. The extent to which religious programming is featured in the schedule of a community channel depends on the character of the area being served. Some community channels have no religious programming at all, some have the majority of programs in that category.

### Individuals

While much of the programming on the community channel involves groups, or their representatives, there are individual people involved too. Some of them are undoubtedly attracted by the glamour of appearing on television (although the advent of the "Gong Show" in the U.S. ought to have cured us once and for all of believing that everyone on TV is talented and good-looking). Some individuals became involved in the early years with the hope this would lead to a career on network TV. Others were interested in the production side and volunteer their time as crew members; some of them have since become employees of the cable operator. There are individuals, also, who have an expert knowledge of some subject, often a hobby such as craftwork, taking care of pets, or chess. Program series designed by the individual or by the



cable staff have featured an individual person and allowed him or her a chance to talk about and demonstrate the hobby concerned. In small towns, these individuals discover very quickly that they gain public recognition from their appearance and the response they get from acquaintances is a substantial reward for their work.

## RADIO PROGRAMMING

### Licensees

The early 1970s were the years when new types of organizations began to seek radio station licences from the CRTC. One of the earliest was a scheme to establish a mobile radio station to travel from one small Ojibway community to another in the Longlac area of northern Ontario. Kenomadiwin Incorporated is the name of the organization which received the licence to broadcast in 1970; it took over three years for the organization to develop its objectives and go through the CRTC's hearing process in order to get the licence. The idea for this unique radio station came from people working for the Company of Young Canadians; young native people participated in the project along with non-natives from outside the area. Initial funding and resources came from the CYC.

The idea of the mobile station was to encourage the exchange of information between people in their isolated communities from one community to another. Programming was produced in one community, broadcast there and then repeated in the next community. The second community would be the source of new programs and these would be broadcast there and in the next community, and so on. The purpose of the project from the CYC point-of-view was to encourage citizen participation in the media, specifically for native people whose economic dependence on non-native society is almost total. The mobile station eventually became licensed as a permanent station at Longlac, from 1974 onwards.

Another early radio station which was to provide service to native people was CFCT-AM in Tuktoyaktuk, N.W.T. This station was started from funds provided by the Mid-Canada Development Foundation, the brain-child of Richard Rohmer. The station began broadcasting in early 1971 and has continued, with a couple of breaks due to technical breakdown, since then. The private station CHUM-AM in Toronto has provided some operating funds each year for the continuance of CFCT. In 1972, it became an affiliate station of the CBC radio network in the North and now carries the bulk of CBC programs via the Inuvik station, with local programming at certain points through the day.

Most of the earliest community radio stations were established in the Northwest Territories to provide service in native communities to be run by the people themselves. In Big Trout Lake, Ontario, and Baker Lake, N.W.T., the federal Department of Communications provided funds to get the station started and provide salary money for staff for a couple of years.

These early stations in the North produced a few hours of programming a day in the language of the area; the numbers of hours produced was not necessarily large and depended - as it still does - on which people were free to participate at different times of year. Since many of the people in Northern communities are engaged in hunting and trapping and have a yearly cycle of activities which may take them away from their home community, the level of activity at the radio station varies in accordance with the changing seasons. One of the important functions of the radio stations is to provide a message service for people



out on the land from those in the villages. For this, a range of signal coverage of at least 30 miles from the transmitter is essential. The stations which can reach only the village itself cannot fulfill the function of keeping in touch with travellers or hunters.

In August, 1977, the CBC Office of Community Radio published a catalogue of community radio operations in Canada. By that time, there were 43 stations where community radio programming was being broadcast. Of these, 12 were owned by the CBC but there was a local society with a community access agreement. Another 12 stations in the Northwest Territories and in Nouveau Québec were unlicensed by the CRTC. Of the remaining 19 stations, two were student radio stations, five were urban radio stations and the rest were in small towns or rural areas, many of them in mid Canada and the North.

Since 1977, another 34 radio licences have been issued, mostly to two native communications societies which work in mid Canada areas of Ontario and Manitoba. Of the remaining 9, two are student radio stations, one a college station, 4 are community access arrangements with CBC and 2 are for community organizations in small communities. There are a number of community access arrangements with CBC being developed and applications for community radio stations are currently being prepared so there probably will be more than the 77 community radio operations known to exist at present. However, most of the 77 are in small communities, some totally isolated from reception of conventional AM and FM radio stations. By March 31, 1978, there were 436 AM

radio and 323 FM radio stations of all types in Canada licensed by the CRTC.

Omitting the community access organizations which have agreements with the CBC, thus do not own their own radio transmitter, there are about 50 licensed radio stations owned and operated by non-profit organizations, which have as their major or only purpose the production and distribution of programs for people in their area. Most of the stations are in Northern communities and most are broadcasting on FM, many of them on low power either by choice or by licence requirement.

The specific type of incorporation or organizational character varies from one province or territory to another and depends largely on the form which a non-profit organization has to take in each area. Some of the organizations have charitable status but many do not; when seeking donations, the difference here may become increasingly important. Decisions on whether or not an organization may have charitable status are made by the Department of National Revenue, for the purposes of income tax assessment.

At present, there are four community radio stations in urban areas; they are, in order of licence issuance, in Kitchener-Waterloo, Vancouver, Montréal and Jonquière. (An urban station in Chicoutimi ceased operation in 1977.) Each station is so different from the others in purpose and in regional setting that generalizations about their programming are almost impossible. They tend to focus their programming schedule towards a segment of the population in their service area; most programs

are designed to be of interest to particular types of people: for example, children, women, union members, ethnic groups, environmentalists, craftworkers. Their selection of music is usually specialized. In Québec, there is heavy emphasis on Québec musicians. In other places, the tendency is towards what private broadcasters consider to be of minority interest: jazz, bluegrass or folk music, the classical repertoire and modern Canadian composers, folk or popular contemporary music from many countries.

Campus radio stations are not really the same as the community radio stations although they do carry some of the same kind of programming content. The campus radio stations are sometimes referred to as university radio stations or as student radio stations. The licensee may be the University, a university-based corporation or the student society. The degree of orientation of the radio station towards the community outside the campus population varies widely. There have been university radio stations since the early 1920s when the first radio licences were being issued in Canada. Stations such as CJRT at Ryerson Polytechnic Institute in Toronto, CJUS at the University of Saskatchewan, and CFRC at Queen's University, Kingston, are examples of university stations which provide an educational radio service intended to provide access to fine arts and classical music programming much more than to instructional programs. CKUA in Edmonton was formerly operated from the University of Alberta campus and is now a provincial educational radio station.



However, stations such as CKMS at the University of Waterloo, CKCU at Carleton University, Ottawa, CKRL at Laval University, Québec, and CJUM at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg are those which we would describe as student radio stations. They are run by students or ex-students on behalf of the student society or by an incorporated organization partially funded by the student society. Their programming is geared partly towards students and partly towards the interests of special segments of the outside community.

Numerous university and college student organizations have been licensed by the CRTC to operate carrier current radio stations but they provide a signal in a limited way to specific campus buildings so the programming cannot be received by off-campus people; no community-oriented programming is developed.

The CBC has a significant contribution to make to local programming, especially through its Northern Service which began to provide radio programming to people in isolated areas in 1958. The objective of the Northern Service is to provide a broadcasting service "to meet the particular needs of the people living in the North - Dene, Inuit, Metis and non-native - give them a sense of identity with their fellow Canadians in the rest of Canada".\* Almost all the people receiving Northern Service

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\* CBC, Submission to the CRTC in Support of Applications for Renewal of Network Licences (May 1978), Volume II, p.303.

radio live in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon although a few are in the northern-most parts of the western provinces.

At present, the Northern Service radio is organized into four areas or sub-regions: Yukon (based in Whitehorse); Mackenzie (based in Yellowknife); Delta (based in Inuvik); Eastern Arctic (based in Frobisher Bay). A fifth area in the Keewatin district of the N.W.T. will soon be operating a sub-regional network, from Rankin Inlet, which will provide service to part of the Eastern Arctic. The Northern Service does not extend to Nouveau Québec or Labrador although there are Inuit and Indian people living there in isolated settlements. However, they can usually receive the shortwave transmission of the Northern Service from Montréal, although reception is not always of good quality.

Because of the very large areas to be covered and the small population living there, the CBC Northern Service has always undertaken some program production at each of the major stations and at Montréal where the network has originated. Almost from the start, some native language programming has been produced, first in the Inuit language of the Eastern Arctic and later in the languages of the Western Arctic. Production in Yellowknife, for example, is for the Mackenzie distribution network and has to balance English language local programs with those for Slavey, Dogrib, Chipewyan and Cree people. Since over two-thirds of the people in the Mackenzie coverage area are non-native English-speaking people, an acceptable balance is extremely difficult to achieve. However, in the Eastern Arctic, where Inuit people

are in the majority and where one Inuit dialect is understood by most native people, the balance is somewhat easier to achieve.

Prior to the use of satellite transmission for feeding the AM network service to Yellowknife, and the other area stations, development of sub-regional networks in the North depended on the use of land-lines and microwave. These in turn depended on the existence of highways for installation of the ground links so the Western Arctic, where highways and railroads did exist, had some development of networking while the Eastern Arctic did not. Frobisher Bay's station was a local station until the transmission link-ups could be made. Since the use of the satellite feed, the sub-regional networks have gradually developed and service has been provided to small communities of over 500 people under the Accelerated Coverage Plan. Because many communities in the North are much smaller than 500 people, there remain a lot of settlements which are unserved unless they happen to be close to a larger community.

As the sub-regional networks become stronger, the local nature of the programming produced has become more difficult to maintain. Consequently, the CBC has encouraged the development of community access arrangements whereby people in a small community could prepare their own programming for their immediate area. To improve the collection of information from the small communities which can be distributed throughout the sub-region, the CBC production staff at the major stations have been trying to develop a schedule of community reports on local events on a rotational basis from the different communities. They have



a small news staff whose job is to cover events all over their coverage area but it is impossible to do this without local help.

Another type of radio licensee which has emerged recently in Canada is the ethnic or multilingual radio station operated as a commercial enterprise. Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver each have an AM radio station authorized to broadcast up to 40% of its schedule in third language (i.e., other than English or French) programming; the Toronto station also has an FM counterpart. The CRTC has no official category for these stations; they are English language private radio stations authorized to go up to the maximum percentage of programming in other languages. (We exclude from this discussion of multilingual radio stations the station CINQ-FM in Montreal which is a non-profit low-power community radio station with about 35% of its programming in third languages, 10% in English and the remainder in French. The multilingual stations described here are private profit-making radio stations.)

The program producers for these radio stations are usually professional programmers although many of them are not full-time employees. The programmers have to maintain contact with the ethnic organizations in their particular language in order to ensure that the anticipated audience for a particular language program does tune in. The programs are usually a mixture of music (currently popular or traditional) from the home country, with news and information about and for the local community of that ethnic origin. While the programming is of general interest

to those who understand the language, it cannot really be described as mass programming because the majority of the people within reach of the station's signal cannot understand the language used. The advertising placed within a specific program is intended to be of particular interest to the language group concerned and is often related to foods imported from the home country or made by immigrants here.

Multilingual or third language programming on radio stations in Canada has been going on for at least 25 years. However, until 1962 the programs were carried only on private stations which had no particular responsibility for that type of programming. In 1962, the station CFMB-AM was licensed in Montréal to produce multilingual programming for up to 40 percent of its schedule. Since then, stations in other major cities which have large numbers of recent immigrants from countries other than Britain have found they could profit by aiming programs and local advertising at the various ethnic populations. The people most interested in listening to the programs appear to be those belonging to the groups which have come recently to Canada; they have the highest percentage of people who cannot speak English or French and who feel most in need of being in touch with other people of their own national origin.

Multilingual programs are still carried on a number of private AM and FM radio stations which have had them on-air for years. However, these programs may find less room for themselves, especially on FM because, as FM audiences rise, the licensees will wish to make better use of their air-time. While FM stations

were of minority interest, the licensees did not mind providing a couple of hours of non-prime listening time to local ethnic organizations to prepare their own programs. In most cases, no advertising was carried and the local group paid a small amount of money (about \$25-\$50 per hour) for use of the air-time and studio facilities, if available. This arrangement suited everyone fairly well; it was a type of community access to the radio air waves.

Since 1975, CRTC has been developing an FM policy for all FM licensees which requires more active programming efforts than just the stereo background music for which FM was well-known. One of the requirements has been the provision of at least 30 minutes per week of community access programming; for some stations this has expanded to more than 30 minutes per week. Some of that time could presumably go to local ethnic groups but it is not clear if the ethnic programming already carried would qualify for the community access time now being required by the Commission if it meant no time was available to other groups and individuals in the community.

On AM radio stations, it has been more usual for multilingual programs to be produced by brokers; they are independent producers who purchase blocks of air-time from the stations, prepare the program content and sell advertising for that program block. This brokerage practice, which has been fairly widespread for multilingual programs on AM radio and TV, may be discouraged in the future both by the CRTC (which prefers the licensee to be responsible for all content broadcast) and by the private



stations themselves which find the arrangement less profitable when they have to compete for audiences with multilingual stations in their area.

### Non-licensees

There have been groups and individuals who have worked with all of the radio licensees described above, especially the community radio and student radio stations. As non-licensees, the community access organizations which have agreements with CBC also have been active in producing radio programming. Because of the nature of community radio licensee organizations, their membership often consists of local groups as well as individuals. These groups exist anyway and function in the local community for a variety of purposes. They participate in program production periodically for the radio station as that suits their purpose, but they may have trouble finding the time to work on a lengthy series of programs.

Some groups are formed especially to produce a program series; this kind of group forms itself from the individuals who volunteer to work on the series. For the purpose of taking responsibility for a program time-slot or series, it is easier and more reliable to give program responsibility to a producer group than to an individual or individuals loosely co-ordinated. This type of group often disbands when the program or series they worked on ends; it may re-form around another program idea later. Urban community radio licensees have mostly emerged from

non-licensee media groups which get started by making radio programs broadcast by someone else and eventually get enough experience and interest to apply for their own radio licence.

Ethnic groups can use radio as well as cable TV but usually not at the same time in one area unless the group is large and well-organized. The time and effort required is too much for the people in the group who actually do the work. Ethnic programs on radio are often prepared by one or two people, working on behalf of an ethnic organization or acceptable by the ethnic population as representative of them.

The CBC is not involved in ethnic programming in the usual sense of programs for immigrant groups; however, it is very much involved in native language programming in the North. In this and other contexts, it is useful to note that "ethnic" in Canada has come to mean: relating to the culture of people other than native people, those of French origin or people from the British Isles.

Native people in the provinces have much less recognition of their need for special programming intended for them or produced by them than do native people north of 60°. This is partially a reflection of the urban/rural imbalance of service which is usual in all the provinces; native people on reserves tend to live in rural areas which are ill-served by conventional broadcasting stations other than the CBC. It is also a reflection of the fact that in most coverage areas, native people comprise a small percentage of the population and, therefore, programming for them is presumed to be not of general interest. This problem

of special interest is compounded if the programming for native people is in their own language although some is done in English, French or a mixture.

Whether in the North or the South, native organizations which are not licensees or do not have a CBC community access agreement have difficulty in producing and distributing radio programming of their own. Although the Department of the Secretary of State has been funding an aid program to native communications societies since 1974, little of this has resulted in radio programming to date, the major emphasis having been on print media. Wa-Wa-Ta Native Communications Society of northern Ontario has core funding from the Secretary of State and has become involved in applying for low power FM station licences on behalf of local groups in native communities. Native Communications Inc. of Manitoba holds at least two radio licences for communities in the northern half of that province.

As non-licensees, native communications societies are involved in a minor way in providing programs to conventional radio outlets. The Alberta Native Communications Society, which works on behalf of the native people in northern Alberta, produces weekly radio programs which are carried on the educational radio network of the Alberta Educational Communications Corporation (ACCESS). ANCS also produces radio programs in Cree and English which are broadcast on CBC stations in Alberta and on several private radio stations in the northern half of the province. Whether the programming is in Cree or English, the intended audience seems to be native people, some of whom speak another



native language or have lost their mother tongue.

The major portion of native language programming on radio is done by community radio stations, licensed and unlicensed, in the North. These stations serve their own immediate areas and the programmers (who may be volunteer or paid a small amount on a part-time basis) do not usually prepare taped programs, preferring for cheapness and ease of operation to conduct live programming of music and messages. The community access organizations do similar programming, mostly in native languages because they exist to serve predominantly native communities.

## TELEVISION PROGRAMMING

### Licensees

New local programming has been extremely limited to date on broadcast TV. While some conventional TV stations do occasionally produce a series of "access" programs, allowing local organizations and groups to express their views, this is a limited way to try to change the one-way non-responsive nature of television distribution. It is also not necessarily special at the local level since the CBC networks have also done the same sort of thing.

In encouraging the development of third TV stations in certain cities across Canada, the CRTC in the early 1970s was attempting to encourage greater diversity of TV programming produced in Canada while also trying to get a better balance between the numbers of American and Canadian TV stations available in the selected markets. The Global TV network was licensed to provide a regional service to Southern Ontario. CITY-TV was licensed as a UHF station to serve the Toronto metropolitan area. Winnipeg, Vancouver and Edmonton also acquired third TV stations, each of which was intended to be a local TV station with no network affiliations.

The evolution of these local stations has been interesting to watch because, as commercial enterprises, they have had great difficulty in competing for audiences with existing Canadian stations and with imported American station signals. The need

to compete for prime-time audiences has led the licensees to de-emphasize the production of local programming (information and entertainment) and to acquire as many popular American entertainment programs as possible under the Canadian content regulations. The irony of this trend is that the companies which were able to get the licences did so because they convinced the CRTC of their willingness and competence to build up locally produced programming and make it popular with their potential audience. The reduction of local programming which has occurred has dismayed the Commission but the remedy for the inexorable commercial pressure to conform to existing programming patterns has not appeared.

Another TV station licensee which was much more experimental was the French language UHF station CFVO-TV in Hull, Québec, licensed to serve the Francophone population of the Ottawa-Hull region. In 1972, a co-operative association was formed by people in the region concerned about the lack of regional information provided through the mass media. Little broadcast programming was originated in the region or broadcast on radio or TV either through the networks or the local stations. Their examination of the feasibility of establishing a co-operatively owned TV station to serve the region coincided with the CRTC's call for applications from companies wishing to establish a second French language TV station in the region. The new association, Coopérative de Télévision de l'Outaouais, decided to be an applicant and was in competition for the licence with two large commercial broadcasting corporations. The Company of Young Canadians (CYC) and the federal Department of the Secretary of



State provided some community workers and funds to help organize community support for the idea of a co-op TV station.

Following a public hearing, the CRTC awarded the licence to the co-operative on the basis of its level of community support and its promise to provide an essentially regional and local service. The station went on-air in September, 1974, with its licence due to expire in March 1976. Its revenue base was shaky from the start although it did have about 10,000 members in the association by 1975. A combination of advertising revenues, membership fees (\$10 each) and loans from credit unions was used to provide the financial base but it was insufficient to cover costs. There were other problems to do with station organization which led to serious conflict between the journalistic objectives of the professional staff and the priorities of the members of the co-operative association. Although the station received a licence renewal from April 1976, it had to close down by March of the following year because of financial difficulties.

Through the time in which the station was on-air, the amount of local programming fluctuated, depending on the financial health of the station. Although the association had hoped to start with 16 hours per week and extend the programming later, this was the most the station could do and it sank to a low of 2 1/2 hours at one point. The staple fare of the station was programming acquired from the commercial TVA network based in Montréal; much of that programming in prime-time was French-dubbed American programming. The ideal of fostering the production of regional and local programming was frustrated by the

practical problems of revenue base and the difficulty of operating a TV station in a democratic manner. The licence for the TV station was surrendered in March, 1977 and a commercial company took over the assets of the station, to run it as a commercial enterprise.

The inability - for whatever reasons - of CFVO-TV to survive as a non-profit, subscriber-owned TV station was a great disappointment not only to the co-operative's membership but also to people in other parts of Canada who had been looking at CFVO as the pioneer in the non-profit television field. The association's status as a co-operative society was somewhat curious but indicative of a basic problem in the co-operative ideal applied to broadcasting. The co-operative was registered under a federal statute and not under the Québec provincial statute applying to co-operative organizations, even though the association was based in Hull. The reason for this is the Québec government's reluctance to consider a broadcasting organization as a proper co-operative because the service of such a co-op cannot be limited to paid-up members only. This is indeed a major organizational problem due to the nature of over-air broadcast distribution at present.

A different type of TV station in St. Jérôme, Québec, was licensed by the CRTC in 1978 as a community TV station, the video equivalent of a non-profit community radio station. The original idea for the St. Jérôme station came from people working for Vidéographe of Montréal and the purpose of the station is to be the over-air counterpart of the community channel, as originally

envisaged by social animators. The station was operating unofficially for several years but not continuously. Now that a VHF licence has been issued, this station has a formal existence although its use of Channel 4 for broadcast may be pre-empted for other purposes in the future. It remains to be seen if the people living in St. Jérôme are willing to support this station with material and time to the extent required to keep it operating even on a modest scale.

Another TV station recently licensed, but on a very different financial basis, is the multilingual TV station for Toronto, licensed in December 1978. This station has not begun broadcasting but it appears it will operate similarly to the multilingual radio stations already described. At least 60% of its programming has to be in third languages or native languages although no percentage is specified of how much of that has to be produced in and about Toronto. There is an element of experimentation here too because it remains to be seen if commercial revenues from special interest TV can outweigh the costs of program production and program purchases as they have in multilingual radio.

Another effort to inject new life into local programming by creating new kinds of sources of TV programming has come from the CBC Northern Service. The provision of TV service to Northern communities via the Anik satellite was undertaken without the prior arrangement of special programming production relevant to the needs and interests of people living in the North. Television has been cited by native groups and individuals as one of the prime weapons of cultural genocide used against native people.



Whether this intrusion of southern television programming was done without thought of the effect on native peoples' perceptions of Canadian society or whether it was done knowing the cultural impact would be damaging, either interpretation of how live television was brought to the North does not reflect credit on the federal government, Telesat Canada or the CBC. In this instance, the organizational rationales for going ahead with satellite transmission of TV to the North clearly outweighed any social and cultural concerns which some individuals in the organizations might have felt.

Having become responsible for the wholesale introduction of about 100 hours per week of southern TV schedules, the CBC was faced with the problem of satisfying the demand made by many non-natives for more southern programs of various kinds while grappling with the difficulty of originating special programs for the North or from the North. The situation for local TV programming on CBC in the North remains hopeless from a financial viewpoint; even to produce the limited type of local programming produced by southern CBC TV stations cannot be done in the North because populations are too small to justify it.

The solution at present is to develop a production centre in Yellowknife which has capability in video and super 8 film production. This centre will not concentrate on producing programs only within CBC but will rely heavily on outside free-lancers in film (there are no video free-lancers in the North) to produce short subjects or longer programs on contract. The

editing and final preparation of the material into TV packaged programs can be done in the Yellowknife centre.

This development process only started in fall 1978 and it will be years before there is a nucleus of trained, experienced film-makers on which CBC can draw to produce programming for the North. At this time, the only CBC programming created in the North is produced by a Frobisher Bay group Nunatsiakmiut, in Inuktitut; 15 minutes each week are prepared and broadcast twice on Fridays along with 15 minutes of news also in Inuktitut prepared by CBC staff in Montréal. These short programs are not really local programs since they are intended for Inuktitut-speaking Inuit people across the Eastern and Central Arctic. There is no programming on television in any of the Indian languages or in the Western Arctic Inuit dialects although that may change when the film-makers gain momentum.

#### Non-licensees

Other than the production by independent producers or brokers of third language programming for local time-slots on private TV stations in Montréal and Toronto, the involvement of non-licensees in producing local programming for television has been extremely limited. The only instances we have come across are related to programming for native people. Two of these are in northern communities and they exist through CBC community access arrangements in two widely separated communities: La Ronge in northern Saskatchewan and Pond Inlet, at the northern end of

Baffin Island, N.W.T.

The La Ronge society has been producing video programs for transmission over the local TV broadcaster since the days of the Frontier Package television service (4 hours of taped programs per day, received one or two weeks after the original broadcast in the south). They used the rebroadcaster transmitter as the equivalent of the cable TV system head-end and have created local programming, for the native people especially, for a number of years. Once the rebroadcaster was hooked up to a satellite feed for the CBC Northern Service network, it became more difficult to use it for playback of local video tapes because that meant interrupting an unceasing flow of programs. However, an agreement has been worked out similar to that used for community access radio, which La Ronge has also been able to obtain through CBC facilities.

The Pond Inlet community television group is called PIC-TV and it arranged access to the local rebroadcaster within the past year. It is too early to say how much programming it can produce and whether it will be a self-sustaining activity.

The Alberta Native Communications Society produces some television programming as well as the radio content described already. Through the video production facilities operated by ANCS in Edmonton, a 30-minute program is prepared and broadcast by a private TV station in that city, CFRN-TV. The program is broadcast early on Sunday mornings, which is definitely a local time slot but, since the station's signal reaches large areas of northern Alberta, it is not clear if this could properly be described as a local program.



CHAPTER V

SUMMARIES OF SIX AREAS OF STUDY

The description of each area is different. We have placed emphasis on those features of the area which affect the existence and nature of new local programming activities. In compiling the information for these areas, we have been primarily dependent on people living there to provide us with the relevant information. In every instance, we have been helped greatly by the people we talked to, who were more than willing to spend time in giving us information. Their experiences and opinions about local programming we found most valuable. In selecting and arranging information for inclusion in these summaries, however, we have had to make our own assessment of the events which have occurred. We hope we have not mis-represented any situation and hope also that our summaries reflect accurately the perceptions of the people involved in the areas concerned. Any inaccuracies in fact or interpretation are, of course, ours alone.

## VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Vancouver is on the Pacific coast of the Canadian mainland. It has the third largest population of any metropolitan area in Canada but it is far removed from the heavy concentrations of Canadian population in southern Ontario and southern Quebec. About two-thirds of all Canadians live in Ontario and Quebec. Since 1945, the Vancouver area has grown rapidly as a result of migration within Canada and immigration from Europe and Asia.

During the 1960s and early 1970s, Vancouver city had a flourishing hippie colony; for at least the past twenty years, the area has been an attractive place to people interested in alternate life styles of all kinds. The temperate climate of the immediate area, both in Vancouver and Victoria, has made this an area where many people have chosen to retire, although retired people do not form as large a percentage of the population in Vancouver as they do in Victoria. The people living in the Greater Vancouver Regional District (the city of Vancouver and eleven neighbouring municipalities) comprise almost half the population of the whole province.

The dominance of Vancouver in the economic and political life of the province is carried over into the media also. The two major daily newspapers in the province are published in Vancouver; the CBC and CTV television networks each depend on a TV station in the Vancouver area. CBC radio networks as well as major private radio stations have their signals distributed

to other provincial towns and cities by microwave or land lines. CBC signals from Vancouver are usually re-broadcast over the air in other parts of the province while others are distributed on cable TV systems in many of the same places. The Vancouver area has a third TV station licensed by the CRTC in 1975 as a local independent TV station providing programming especially for that area, not for the region or the province as a whole.

Local programming on the Vancouver area radio stations take the usual forms on private radio and CBC radio: local news and weather, local phone-in and interview programs, reports on local celebrations or parades, and local sports. The multilingual station CJVB-AM produces programs of music and local information in over 20 foreign languages. Some stations have a heavy concentration on local news and sports, like CKNW-AM. The phone-in radio shows such as those on CJOR, have retained their popularity in Vancouver long after interest has faded in other cities.

The best-known phone-in show hosts, Jack Webster, recently moved to a television program based on the same format and this has been successful in gaining audiences for the morning hours on BCTV, the provincial CTV affiliate, based in Burnaby. BCTV has placed increasing emphasis on its dinner-hour local news and information programs in recent years, receiving as a reward the major share of the local TV audience at that time, in competition with the CBC Vancouver station's local news program and that of the independent TV station, CKVU. Because BCTV is distributed to most of B.C.'s populated areas now, the local news hour is regional in distribution and contains items about places



and people outside the Vancouver area. However, the programming is dominated by Vancouver area items, as is the CBC and CKVU programming of the same type.

New forms of local programming in the Vancouver area have been most commonly programs produced and distributed on the community channel of the local cable TV systems. On radio, new forms of local programming has been produced and distributed by Vancouver Co-operative Radio for its station CFRO-FM. The carrier current campus radio station at the University of British Columbia (CITR) is carried on the cable radio service of Vancouver Cablevision. On television stations, there has been little new local programming. Although CKVU did try to extend the locally produced programming in the early evening hours, with opportunity for participation by the audience in forum discussions with invited guests, the level of interest shown by members of the public (either in attending the forums or in being counted in the home audience) was low and the station has cut back on local programming for financial reasons.

As far as the community channel is concerned, there has been active interest in the production and distribution of video tapes on cable TV since the beginning of the 1970s. The Metro Media Association of Greater Vancouver, and its predecessor Intermedia, was the organization most involved from the start in organizing groups and encouraging people to become involved in using video production equipment. One of the unusual features of this area is the large number of people, through Metro Media and other organizations as well as individually, who have pursued

the idea of the community channel as a medium of exchange for social information not provided by the conventional TV stations.

As a corollary to this idea, there are people who regard the commercialism of private broadcasting to be antithetical to the social objectives towards which broadcasting in Canada must be directed. The pressure group which focusses most strongly on this is the Association for Public Broadcasting in British Columbia (APBBC); established as a non-profit society in 1972, it first came to public notice during the first round of CRTC Public Hearings on applications for a third TV station in Vancouver in 1973. The Association has members in various parts of the province but primarily in Vancouver and Victoria.

Association members in Victoria became actively involved in the formation of the Capital Cable Co-operative (CCC) which sought to challenge the renewal of Victoria Cablevision's licence to provide cable TV service in much of the city of Victoria. CCC intended to seek a licence for a co-operatively owned cable TV system once the licence for the incumbent licensee had been denied. CRTC licence hearing procedures did not allow for licence challenges so the co-operative for a time had to give up its efforts to acquire the existing cable TV system. The co-operative structure of ownership is favoured by CCC because it would be non-profit and, thus, would be in a position to spend more money than would a privately owned cable TV system on programming for the local area.

In Vancouver, however, a different approach was taken towards the community channel. In the early 1970s, Metro Media

and other groups of a more temporary nature sought to have access to the community channel for showing of their prepared tapes. Full access was never achieved either for prepared tapes or to the production facilities of the cable licensee. However, more openness was gradually achieved after numerous interventions had been filed on every application for licence amendment, licence renewal or fee increase submitted by Vancouver Cablevision to the CRTC. A matter of concern to many intervenors was the relationship between Vancouver Cablevision and Premier Cablevision, its parent company but not a licensee. The degree of control exercised by officers of the parent company over the staff and budgets of the community channel was a question raised many times by intervenors at CRTC public hearings.

From its start in 1971, Metro Media was intended to be an umbrella organization which would be able to represent all the groups and individuals interested in access to the media at the community level. The Association was also interested in providing media skills training to community-based groups of all types so that they could use a variety of communications techniques to assist in reaching their own self-determined social goals. While the production of video tapes and their showing on the community channel was useful for some groups, it was fully recognized that video might not be at all appropriate for other groups, while still others might wish to show video tapes to their own membership only.

From the beginning, Metro Media was interested in becoming the non-profit organization which could take over the management



of the community channel in the Vancouver system, on behalf of the people in the area served. In 1975, the Vancouver Community Television Association (VCTA) was established as a non-profit society; it was established by Metro Media as a lobby group to seek improvement in Vancouver Cablevision's programming service on the community channel. In 1976, a survey was conducted to determine whether or not there was support from local organizations for the idea of getting a split licence from the CRTC to operate the community channel separately from the cable TV system.

VCTA's argument basically was that the community channel should be in the hands of the community itself, with the programming arising from a community base, so that the community channel could provide a real community medium and would not be a token gesture in place of full citizen control of the public airwaves. Although negotiations between VCTA, staff of Premier Cablevision and of the CRTC went on for over two years, the Association's application to the CRTC for a split licence was rejected. Currently, VCTA acts in an advisory role with Vancouver Cablevision's programming staff and it issues a newsletter to its members on local and regional broadcasting issues. The Association is operated on funds from membership fees.

The licensee of the cable TV system which provides service to all of the city of Vancouver (plus Richmond and most of Burnaby) is Vancouver Cablevision (1976) Limited. This system has been described as the single largest cable television system in the world; there are now over 220,000 subscribers and it is the most important system of those owned by Premier Cablevision,

its parent company. Premier also owns Fraser Cablevision (formerly Coquitlam Cablevision) and Victoria Cablevision as well as several cable TV systems in southern Ontario.

Vancouver Cablevision has been providing a community programming service since 1970. The community channel is referred to as Cable Ten (channel 10 is the only clear VHF channel remaining in the Vancouver area and all cable TV systems in and around Vancouver use channel 10 as the community channel). Cable Ten employs 22 full-time staff and eight part-time staff and has between one and two hundred volunteers at any time to work on productions. Almost all of the programs involve some non-staff people; about 10% is programming produced entirely outside Cable Ten.

The range of programming content is fairly usual for a community channel: e.g., sports, ethnic programs, the arts, practical English for the Chinese community, the law for laymen, programming for the deaf including the CBC Evening News simultaneously translated through sign language interpretation, music and programs which focus on people and events in and around Vancouver. There is no religious programming; the only program series involving religious organizations is that of Interchurch Television (B.C.) which is funded by the major Christian denominations and which has been producing programs since 1975 which reflect moral or ethical perspectives on current social issues.

Because of the size of the cable TV system, the relationship of community programs to the smaller geographic communities

(neighbourhoods) and municipal boundaries within the system has been a source of criticism from local organizations since 1970. Vancouver Cablevision has also been criticized by them for committing only 2% of its subscriber revenues towards community programming. To some extent, these criticisms have been responded to by the establishment of several neighbourhood programming centres. So far, centres have been set up as store-front operations in Burnaby (shared with West Coast Cablevision), Richmond, the West End and Kitsilano (both in Vancouver). Other centres are to be set up in East Vancouver and the Kerrisdale neighbourhood. The neighbourhood centres make programming facilities more accessible to people living in different parts of the city; the main production centre still remains where it has been from the beginning, near a shopping centre and easily reached by public transit. The neighbourhood centres each have at least one full-time staff member and programs produced from there are included in Cable Ten's program schedule for the cable system. Volunteers are also recruited and trained to produce programs within the whole area, using mobile facilities.

Audiences for programs shown on the community channel are not surveyed by Cable Ten. Most groups or individuals involved in program production, including the staff, rely on responses such as phone-calls or letters and sometimes on phone-in questions during a live program. The only organization which actively seeks to measure and evaluate audience response is Interchurch Television. Part of its production effort is devoted to publicity of its program series to people through church groups and church-



related organizations. The Interchurch Television group is unusual in having one full-time and one part-time staff member devoted to community programming on cable TV, and the related activities of community animation and publicity. Most programming groups are not so well organized on the basis of reliable funding and continuity; one other exception to this is the Vancouver People's Law School which receives funding for video program production from the B.C. Law Foundation.

Both Interchurch Television and the Vancouver People's Law School are concerned with providing video tapes to suitable audiences throughout the province, not just in Vancouver. Interchurch is able to arrange for the production of its program series through the production facilities of the Vancouver Cable-vision community channel; it has used facilities of other Vancouver area cable operators in the past. The Law School contracts for the production of video tapes from independent producers for a series of tapes on various legal topics which are distributed to interested people throughout B.C. The Law School also uses the facilities of Cable Ten in Vancouver for the production of a series on law intended for distribution on the community channel, in Vancouver and elsewhere in the province. The Law School staff work with libraries and community centres in the Vancouver area to publicize the video tape series on cable TV. Other efforts to publicize the various activities of the Law School are undertaken through all possible media to reach the widest range of people. Thus, the community programs which the Law School produces are only a part of the overall effort

to inform British Columbians about the legal system and their rights within that system.

While the Vancouver cable system is by far the largest in area and numbers of subscribers in the province, there are several other cable TV systems in the Greater Vancouver region. One such system is Microwave Cablevision which provides service on the North Shore; that area contains three municipalities which are suburbs of Vancouver, physically separated from the city by the Burrard Inlet. The North Shore contains West Vancouver and the city and district of North Vancouver. The population there was almost 135,000 in 1976. The area has no broadcasting stations located there and there is little information about the North Shore carried on local programs broadcast by Vancouver radio and TV stations. There are three weekly newspapers published for the area which provide some local news. The community channel of the cable TV system does provide the opportunity for coverage of local events on the North Shore, such as sports and municipal affairs.

'Community Ten' on the North Shore has been operating since 1971, and has currently 6 full-time staff involved in programming for the channel. About 80% of the programs distributed are produced at Community Ten, the remainder being independently produced. The intention is to allow for the distribution of tapes prepared by people or groups on the North Shore who have their own video equipment or who wish to produce a program on their own. While there use to be a number of programming groups on the North Shore a few years ago, these have mostly ceased being

active in programming. Most of the usual outside programs now come from groups and institutions which produce programs at Cable Ten in Vancouver - such as Interchurch Television and the Aap Ki Mehfil Cultural Society - and want wider distribution in the Greater Vancouver region. Such programs are usually carried not only on the North Shore system but also on the five systems which between them serve the rest of the regional district of Greater Vancouver.

Community Ten programs regularly include local music and variety, sports, municipal reports and tape-delayed coverage of council meetings, arts and crafts, interviews and phone-in programs. On an infrequent basis, there are ethnic programs produced but this is not a prominent feature of the schedule as it is in many other areas. Religious programming also is not generally featured aside from the Interchurch program received from the Vancouver system. The people living on the reserves of the Squamish Indian Band are occasionally involved in programs but not as a regular series. In the programs produced by the staff, most of these are involving people from social service organizations, usually on an occasional basis. A few organizations do develop program series about their work or concerns but most are interested in coverage of a special event they are organizing or in publicity for a special event on the North Shore.

Along with the other cable TV systems in Greater Vancouver, the North Shore system is developing plans for future channel usage on the mid-band. So far, all the TV networks and local independent stations available in the Vancouver area can be



provided to cable TV subscribers on the basic service of 12 VHF channels. While mid-band channels do carry a few signals (off-air U.S. TV signals as well as taped Parliamentary Debates from the House of Commons and the Broadcast News service), there is no necessity to have a signal converter attached to TV sets for reception of the more popular TV stations. The cable TV operators in the region are interested to provide programming on several new channels; one may be a children's channel and another a multi-cultural channel. The arrangements and regulatory approval for these channels have yet to be received but the expectation is that all Lower Mainland operators would participate in a joint venture to procure the programming.

It is uncertain at this time if any local production of programming would be undertaken or if any local producers independent of the cable operators would be able to sell their productions for use on the appropriate channel. There are several local organizations in the Vancouver area which have strong interests in children's programs and in ethnic programming; they are hoping to be able to participate in the preparation of content for the proposed new channels. The field of new programming services on cable TV is one which may prove to be a second area of conflict between cable TV operators and local social and volunteer organizations in the Vancouver area. The first area of conflict was over the community channel and its usage as a community medium. The second may be over the opportunity of local people to participate in production of a wide variety of programs, of special or general interest, and to be paid for

that participation.

In radio, there has not been the ongoing strife that has been observed in cable TV between licensee and programming group. In radio, the licensee concerned is a community-based organization itself and the tensions have been about the financial support of the licensed station and how this could be accomplished in a non-profit context.

Vancouver Co-operative Radio grew out of two earlier Vancouver community service groups called Neighbourhood Radio and Community Research Service. Neighbourhood Radio began in early 1971 with a plan to operate a city-wide FM station but the idea was dropped because of funding and licensing problems. Instead the group decided to explore the possibility of setting up a series of neighbourhood stations to be connected up on the city-wide cable TV system as cable radio. A number of radio production workshops were conducted and local groups were helped to produce radio programs. However, not all groups were convinced of the value of radio as a useful medium of expression, especially when video was at the same time being presented as the new medium of community communication. Community Research Service (usually known as Muckrakers) was a group of people interested in being informed about current issues and events and who developed information research techniques and information files as background material.

In fall 1973, the two groups combined with other interested people to form Vancouver Co-operative Radio, a non-profit society incorporated under the B.C. Co-operatives Act. The society was

formed for the purpose of seeking an FM radio station licence and operating the station as a listener-owned, non-commercial station with access available to any Vancouver area group or individual interested in becoming involved. Membership in the society is open to anyone in the area; active participation by co-op members in the operation of the station and in programming production is strongly encouraged. After applying to the CRTC for a non-commercial community FM radio licence, this was granted in May 1974; the station is the first (and so far, the only) one serving a large metropolitan area in its entirety (CINQ in Montréal transmits on low-power and serves only one neighbourhood of that city).

Programming for the station CFRO-FM comes from a variety of sources in the Vancouver area and from the station itself. While CFRO has always tried to maintain a small paid staff (the numbers have varied, depending on outside funds), at the core of the station's operation is a group of about one hundred active co-op members who are involved as volunteers in program production, technical or administrative assistance, on-air duties, and so on. The station also adheres to one of its original objectives to be an access station by being open and encouraging to applications for air-time from any person or group in the area.

Since 1975, CFRO has been producing and broadcasting a wide range of special and regular programming on, for example, education; the environment; women's issues; local music of all kinds; CRTC hearings; the fishing industry; native issues; labour; poetry readings and radio drama; modern and classical music;



industrial development; programming produced by children and by the handicapped; live coverage of Vancouver City Hall proceedings, labour council meetings and commissions of inquiry; backgrounders on current local and regional issues. The largest percentage of the program air-time each month goes to music of all types, both recorded and live. That amounts to about 42% of the programming while another 15% is devoted to public affairs and news programming. Ethnic programming, while important to the overall mix of programs, has about 3.5% of the program time. Arts and cultural programming accounts for about 10% of the time.

In addition to over-air broadcasting from its 3.7 KW transmitter, CFRO is distributed on the cable TV systems in and around Vancouver as part of the cable radio service. With the extension of microwave distribution of television signals and more recently FM radio signals to cable TV systems in the B.C. Interior, CFRO has been more widely distributed than was imagined at the beginning of its existence. People on the east coast of Vancouver Island are also being able to pick up CFRO on cable in more and more small communities outside of Victoria. Because of the extended coverage area and potentially increased listeners, CFRO hopes to develop programming groups in places around the province to produce programs on a regular basis. The potential audience being increased also raises the possibility for increased membership in the co-operative. Each member receives a monthly program guide and is kept informed of the station's funding needs.

The formal direction of the station in all matters, including fund-raising and programming policy, is undertaken by the

Board of Directors of the co-operative society. In 1976, the Board delegated its management authority to a Workers Council except for matters concerning the borrowing of money, signing contracts and the broadcast licence itself. The Council, which was made up of representatives of each programming group, then held discussions on policy matters of station operation.

By the spring of 1978, however, it had become apparent that the Council did not work well, principally because of lack of continuity in those attending the meetings as programming representatives. As a result, too many decisions were falling on to the staff to make. A new structure was designed, through discussion meetings of co-op members. In July of 1978, the Workers Forum and an Executive Committee came into existence. Any member of the co-op who has been actively and regularly involved in the station for at least two of the previous three months can participate and vote in the Forum meetings each month.

The Forum elects four members representing four main programming areas to the Executive Committee which also has three staff people in it. On a day-to-day basis, the Executive Committee makes decisions as required and these are reviewed at the Forum meetings. The Forum's main work is concerned with programming. It decides on applications for new programming and reviews other ongoing programmes at intervals. The Forum also decides on fund-raising activities and strategies for fund-raising as well as being responsible for keeping informed about the technical capabilities of the station, currently and for the future.

Although Vancouver Co-operative Radio has always tried to resist the tendency to become dependent on any one source of funds, the recent curtailment of government funds from several relevant departments and agencies has caused problems of rapid re-adjustment for the station. In 1978, government grants (Canada Council's programme of aid to community radio, grants from Canada Works and the Vancouver City Council) accounted for more than half of the station's operating funds. None of these sources are sure to provide money in future years. The loss of government money has led to a greater reliance on local sources of various kinds.

The funding sources which the station, through the Forum, has decided to emphasize at present are membership fees, program sponsorships and donations. Although sponsorships have always been possible at the station, they have not been sought much until now. Sponsorships are now being considered as a potential source of revenue for both the operating costs of the station itself and the programming costs of programming groups. Normally, programmers do not receive any direct funds from the station and are expected to cover their own expenses in materials for programs.

As in the past years, the station continues with periodic fund-raising marathons on-air and raffles. However, these activities are energy-intensive and cannot be undertaken very often, for two reasons. One is the effect on the regular programming efforts; the second is the risk of overkill of the station's message of need to potential contributors in the audience.



Through a sister organization, which is a registered society with charitable status, there is the possibility to receive charitable donations and grants for educational purposes; the society has existed since 1975. Fund-raising efforts are also being devoted to raising the numbers of new and continuing members in the co-op. Memberships have been increasing during the past year but it may be years yet before the station could operate only on membership or listener fees.

## INUVIK, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Inuvik is a town in the Mackenzie Delta area. The Delta area has been inhabited by various groups of Indian and Inuit people from time immemorial. The division of land areas between the groups has varied over time depending on animal migrations and fluctuations in numbers of particular species. There is no clear division between Inuit and Indian lands in the Delta area because at various times in the past both have used the rivers and lakes for hunting and trapping. The coastal area at the mouth of the Delta is generally accepted by native people as Inuit territory because they have hunted on the ocean in winter and summer while the Indians have stayed inland.

Before the arrival of Europeans, the native people lived a nomadic existence dictated by the rhythms of the animal and plant life around them. Once traders arrived to barter for furs, however, this began to change, even slightly, by bringing native people to specific places at specific times of year. Gradually, as missionaries, teachers and medical staff arrived, the native people began to settle in permanent locations, sometimes determined by them but more often determined by where the trading posts, missions, schools, and hospitals were built. The nomadic life style is still practiced at least partially by many native people, more particularly by men but also with their families.

The communities which have been established in the North are not really urban communities. Most native people are not urbanized although they live for much of the year in so-called

towns and villages. People from southern Canada or those who have come from Europe directly to the North have a completely different perception of town life, based on their own experiences of urbanization elsewhere. The economic stability and strength of most urban communities in industrialized countries is taken for granted as natural; yet, in the North, there is usually no economic base from which the native communities have grown. There is not economic activity - whether it is agriculture, resource extraction, manufacturing, etc. - from which the settlements have sprung. Thus the number of communities in the North and their location gives very little indication of the economic potential of the North and the communities themselves are rarely economically self-sufficient.

This dependence on outside help to maintain economic activities is a striking feature of the North. The scale and extent of government activities at both the territorial and federal level results from attempts to counter-balance the underlying weakness of economic activities supporting the resident population. For many native people, they have no economic function in their community although they have a social role and complex social and family relationships in small communities.

So, it is not just that native people are having to make the rapid adjustment from dependence on the land to a wage-earning economy; that is difficult enough to accomplish in one or two generations. There is the more seriously demoralizing problem of poor economic bases in and around the communities where they now live. This necessitates many of the men having



to work and travel far away from their families if they seek wage employment. It also seems to require that much of the employment in seasonal and, thus, the wage employment which is available is only temporary. Even if full-time, year-round employment were available in their own communities, it is hard for many native people to make this sudden switch to one type of work away from the traditional land-based requirements of shifting frequently between a variety of jobs. The kinds of adjustments which are being required of native people in the North have been fully explored in the Report of the Berger Inquiry on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and many related studies undertaken by federal government departments and agencies.

The Mackenzie Delta is an area of the Western Arctic which has witnessed a great deal of recent activity in resource exploration and development as well as extensive fur-trading activities in the past by the Hudson's Bay Company among other. The native people in the Western Arctic have not been isolated from the activities of outsiders who have various economic or social purposes for going to the North. It should be noted that the native people of the Eastern Arctic and the Keewatin have been much less intruded upon but it is a matter of degree, not that these people have been totally undisturbed. The activities of government staff and of entrepreneurs may so far have been less obvious in the small communities of the Eastern Arctic than in the communities of the Mackenzie Delta. For the native people of the Yukon and the Great Slave Lake areas of the Northwest Territories, they are already finding themselves in the minority

of the resident population. The people of the Delta may soon find themselves in this situation if the oil and gas explorations in that area become the source of new energy resources which are extracted and sent to southern Canada via pipelines.

It is in the context of the major decisions being made about oil and gas development that the present land claims of the native people in light of the land claims has been stepped into high gear and has put enormous pressures on native people and on the native organizations which represent them. The negotiations on land claims are extremely important to the future economic and political place of native people in the Territories. Every resident in the Northwest Territories, whether native or non-native, true "Northerner" or recent arrival, needs to know as much as possible about the policies of the federal government regarding energy resources, Northern development, native land claims and the role of the territorial government as well as knowing what the various native organizations are seeking through the negotiations.

The extent of the information about land claims, for example, which is available to everyone and the exchange of information between people is extremely important at this particular time in the North. Face-to-face communication remains the most important and meaningful way to acquire and exchange information. However, because of distances between communities and the costs of travel either in money, time or both, it is difficult for information exchange to depend on this method alone when decisions have to be made quickly. The media, then, come to be important

potential sources of information and means for exchange. Firstly, print media and secondly, radio do fulfill some of these important functions but there are problems, as illustrated in the Inuvik area - though not unique to this area by any means.

Inuvik is a government-built town (begun in 1955 and officially opened in 1961) on the east bank of the Mackenzie River delta, near the Beaufort Sea. Inuvik was intended to be the new home for people of Aklavik, a settlement in the Delta which was subject to serious spring flooding in the early 1950s. However, many preferred to remain in Aklavik or returned there when they found they disliked living in Inuvik. There are several smaller communities in the Delta area, all of which depend on Inuvik for CBC broadcasting services, if they receive anything at all. Some get TV and radio, others radio only. On the coast just east of the Delta is Tuktoyaktuk which has a radio station owned by a local association and affiliated to the CBC Inuvik radio station for most of its programming schedule.

Inuvik had 3,115 people living there in 1976; this is a large town by the standards of the Northern communities, many of which have about 200 people and others less than 75 people. About half of the people in Inuvik are non-native government employees or members of the armed forces and their families; there are also a few non-native business managers and entrepreneurs. The native half of the population is made up of a mixture of Indian people (Loucheux) and Inuit people. The area of the Lower Mackenzie and the Western Arctic which is within the Inuvik radio station's



service area has about 12,000 people in it. Not all of the very small places receive any radio service and some have marginal reception even in winter. Inuit communities on the Arctic Islands - Holman Island, Paulatuk and Sachs Harbour - receive no radio service at all.

Television service throughout the territories is provided by the Northern Service TV network via satellite to earth stations in communities of over 500 people, where the community has agreed to have the service; a few communities in the Eastern Arctic have refused to have television service because they think TV-watching and the content watched will disrupt the normal social life of the community. In the Western Arctic, most native communities have already been disturbed by the influx of southern Canadians on major construction work or for other purposes. They seem to be less reluctant to accept television service although, once installed, there is less certainty that the violent urban society portrayed in mass audience TV drama programs is suitable for northern residents.

The fact that almost no native language programming is provided in the television schedule is a matter for concern, especially when so many native children watch a great deal of television and their use of their mother tongue was already infrequent before TV arrived. In communities where a major portion of the population is non-native as in Inuvik, there was no question that satellite-fed TV service would be provided by the CBC. Inuvik had already been receiving the Frontier Package TV service for several years.

Inuvik is one of the few places in Northern Canada which have been provided with an alternative viewing choice. Through the ingenuity of David Brough, who initiated the scheme to provide taped TV programs via unlicensed low-power TV transmissions, a number of Northern Ontario communities (and later some places in the N.W.T.) have been able to watch programs taped from Toronto area TV signals and sent up north by plane. This is a sort of private frontier package; without licence or copyright payments to the program owners, its legality is doubtful. A local businessman in Inuvik has an agreement with David Brough for the use of the tapes - which had already been shown in a series of communities between Toronto and their last stop, Hay River.

The content is almost entirely American drama programming and movies, including the Buffalo and Toronto area advertisements inserted by the stations there. To defray costs of operation, Inuvik residents have been asked to subscribe \$10 per month on a voluntary basis. When equipment is installed which will 'scramble' the low-power signal, then decoders attached to TV sets will become necessary for reception and the subscribers will have to pay for the service. Through a pay TV service of this type, there is a potential for local origination (which is not possible on the CBC television service to Inuvik). However, at present the video production equipment is extremely limited and there is no voluntary or non-profit organization which local people could join so as to participate in programming for and about Inuvik.

Since the Inuvik people have no direct control over or participation in the TV service received from CBC, we will put that to one side and look instead at the radio service provided by the Inuvik station. The call letters, CHAK, give a hint of the station's origins; it used to be the radio station in Aklavik before Inuvik was built. Before the development of land lines, microwave and satellite connections, the Aklavik station and later the Inuvik station produced and broadcast a programming service more heavily originated from that area. As with all broadcasting stations which have become more linked to a hierarchical network structure, the programming service is now basically the AM radio network service (which is provided across Canada on CBC O&O stations) with segments in the day for programming originated in Inuvik and programs also from Yellowknife and Frobisher Bay included.

The sort of schedule balancing which the station manager has to achieve is extremely complex and depends on finding the best blend of a) native language and English language programming; b) Inuvilukton, Loucheux and Slavey among the native languages; c) southern network and northern service network programming. The mixture cannot be satisfying to everyone in the large area served by one radio service. Since there is no alternative radio service in Inuvik, the effort has to be made to meet all demands. In smaller communities such as Fort Franklin and Fort Good Hope, community access arrangements have been made for use of the local rebroadcaster by a local representative organization so the people there can, for example, produce more native



language programs or broadcast more music than is possible from Inuvik.

However, this solution is not available in Inuvik itself because the CBC does not extend the access policy to places which have CBC production facilities operated by professional staff. The alternative of doing what was done in Tuktoyaktuk by establishing an independent station which then became an affiliate of the CBC does not seem possible for Inuvik either, or for Aklavik which is receiving the Inuvik signal off-air, because for most of the day there would be two transmitters broadcasting identical programming.

It is in the subject of programming for native people or in native languages (not necessarily the same thing) that the greatest difficulties arise. First of all, in the broadest perspective, there is the question of how native people perceive the CBC itself. A CBC staff member in Yellowknife remarked to us that he sometimes has difficulty in convincing people that the federal government and the CBC are two separate organizations. Actually, the crown corporation is funded mainly by the federal government and is answerable to Parliament through a federal Cabinet minister so the distinction is not as clear to ordinary people as it is to other government staff or to students of public administration. Since the numerous federal government departments and agencies which are present in the North engage in activities over which the native people feel they have very little control, it is not surprising if many of them regard the CBC in the same light.

In the case of native organizations, however, they must take a much different view. As political entities, they are much more aware of the political significance of the broadcasting media and their usage. Because radio is the only broadcasting medium with significant amounts of Northern-produced programming and because CBC radio is the only full service available to people in the Western Arctic (outside of Yellowknife which has a recently licensed private radio station), then CBC Radio has a great deal of importance as a means of providing information to native people over a large area and very quickly. The news and information content, whether in English or in native languages, is a matter of concern when political issues are being described. However, since almost every aspect of life for people in the Territories is affected by matters such as current land claim negotiations and government actions on social or economic development, there are numerous items of political concern in the news every day.

In the Inuvik area, this is a recent example of the way in which CBC Radio can deal with politically sensitive matters. The Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) represents the Inuit people of the Delta area in a number of matters but more particularly in the matter of land claims negotiations with the federal government. There is no similar, permanent organization to represent the Indian or Metis people of the Delta, either separately or jointly. Attempts to form an organization to represent all Indian and Metis people of the Mackenzie Valley have been made, under pressure from the federal government in

negotiations for land claims, but it is still in the early stages. When COPE reached a preliminary agreement on land claims with the federal government in December 1978, this caused consternation among the Indian and Metis people and among Inuit elsewhere in the Arctic. None of these native organizations have ready access to the Inuvik radio station to state their positions or to allow for discussion among people in the area.

From the point of view of the CBC staff, there are professional news people who can cover these events as news stories. Allowing a political organization (native or non-native) direct access to the air-waves would be a violation of the need for impartiality, in their view, and would undoubtedly lead to demands from other groups - again native and non-native - to be allowed to state their opinions. It would also lead to the territorial government requesting the right to state its case as a party to the negotiations; it is possible that the federal government also would feel justified in asking for air-time. So, rather than allow native organizations any exposure they cannot extend to everyone, the CBC has preferred to keep its news and information services under the control of its own professional staff. Information about land claims, then, comes in the form of news releases and recorded statements from officials of the various organizations involved. It becomes a matter of gaining expertise in publicity techniques for the native organizations.

If that is a predictable problem for political organizations in a politically sensitive area, what about the native



communications societies which the (federal) Secretary of State Department has been funding? In the Mackenzie Delta area, the communications societies which would claim to be working for the native people there are in a weak position. Firstly, the Native Communications Society of the Western N.W.T. is based in Yellowknife. The Society considers its area goes as far north as Arctic Red River and would include Fort Franklin, Fort Good Hope and Fort Norman; all four communities are provided with radio service through the Inuvik station. The rest of the Society's area is served by the Yellowknife station and its rebroadcasters. For the Delta area north of Arctic Red River, the Western Arctic Regional Communications Society formed by COPE is assumed to be responsible for providing communications services. However, this Society has never received any funds from Secretary of State and it remains inactive because of that.

Even if the Yellowknife-based society was able to keep in touch with Inuvik's CBC staff (which they have not been able to do), the Native Communications Society of the Western N.W.T. has not got adequate radio production equipment functioning yet and production of radio programs is only just in the early stage. The dilemma faced by the Society is the chicken-and-egg type of problem. The justification for using resources for radio production can only be based on a clear indication of the programs receiving air-time; CBC Radio cannot guarantee air-time until it receives examples of radio programs and agrees they will be assured of broadcast.

Because the Native Communications Society grew out of the Indian Brotherhood organization (now called the Dene Nation), the Society has had trouble indicating its separate non-political identity since it became independent. The principal medium used by the Society is the bi-weekly newspaper, Native Press, which was run by the Indian Brotherhood for several years. So it is not surprising if the close identity remains in many people's minds between the Brotherhood and the Society. This may account for some of the reluctance the Society has encountered, and is still encountering, in persuading the CBC Yellowknife station to provide air-time to the Society and in the CBC urging the Society to produce programs about non-controversial subjects such as crafts, legends or music. Because the Society has not succeeded yet in producing radio programming for broadcast on CBC Yellowknife, it will be a long time before they can hope to offer programs to the Inuvik station.

If the position of native people outside the CBC is not ideal in being able to contribute content to the Inuvik station, perhaps the answer lies in seeking employment on the CBC staff. As in the other Northern Service production centres, there are staff positions specially designated for native language announcer-operators. The programs introduced by native language A-Os are primarily informational, with musical interludes between items. Because of limited resources, most of the information provided is from English-language newscasts or from other items prepared by the non-native reporters either in Inuvik or in another

Northern Service production centre. The native language staff rarely seem to have the time to travel around the area and report on events; this is the job of the professional reporters who are not native people.

Whenever there is a vacancy in the native language A-O positions at Inuvik (or Yellowknife), it often has proved to be extremely difficult to recruit staff for these positions. There seem to be at least two reasons for this: suitable people do not want to move from their own community to Inuvik for training and to live there; many people in Inuvik have already lost the effective use of their native language. There is a third problem which is not explicitly mentioned; that is, native people in the A-O positions sometimes feel themselves caught in the role of gatekeeper between the native people and the wider Canadian society. They are under pressure to determine what is newsworthy to native people while at the same time avoiding controversial, politically sensitive matters.

The problem of native language programs for native people has become a more and more difficult equivalence to make as the loss of native language and its replacement by basic English becomes increasingly common, in the Western Arctic anyway. About 70% of the people living in the Delta area are under 30 years of age and this percentage is probably higher among the native people. Most of the under 30 age-group has lost native language usage, especially in Inuvik and the other communities with greatest outside contact. If programs are intended for the younger native people or for children, the usage of native languages only



is not effective in reaching the intended audience. However, use of English only would be an admission of defeat for the cultural heritage of native people in the Delta and the CBC staff are fully aware of this problem. The broadcasting agency, by itself or through the medium of radio, cannot keep a native language alive but it can at least provide frequent examples of its everyday use. However, the increasing prevalence of English even in the smaller communities is illustrated by the fact that the community reports on the Inuvik station (which are made every two or three weeks by local people about events there) are given in English, so as to be understood by most people. For older people, especially the elderly who do not speak any language other than their own, native language programs will continue for some years to provide a service but we presume that they do not rely on radio as their sole, or even primary, source of the information that they find relevant or interesting in their lives.

## SASKATOON, SASKATCHEWAN

Saskatchewan has probably got the highest percentage of its population in rural areas than any province in Canada. Its population in 1976 was 921,323 (the lowest of any western province) and the two largest cities are Regina and Saskatoon. These two have generally maintained populations close to equal, with Regina having the slight edge: 149,593 to 133,750 in 1976. The population of Saskatoon today is estimated to be close to 150,000; if all the predictions are fulfilled of major industrial expansion in resource extraction (mainly potash and uranium) near Saskatoon and in the north of the province, the city will probably double its population within the next five years. If so, Saskatoon will finally become the largest city in the province, after seventy years of rivalry with Regina which has been the provincial capital since Saskatchewan was founded in 1905.

The southern half of the province is prairie landscape while the northern half (which only has about 22,000 people living in it) is northern bush land. Saskatoon in the central focus for much of the economic activity of south central Saskatchewan while Regina shares with several smaller centres, such as Moose Jaw and Swift Current, the economic market in the southern end of the province. For activities in the north, Saskatoon is the major take-off point for transportation of goods and people.

Founded in 1883, Saskatoon began to be important as a centre in 1909 when the province decided to place the University

of Saskatchewan there. With the routing of both CNR and CPR railways through the town and its strategic location as a bridge site across the South Saskatchewan River, Saskatoon has long been a transportation centre for a large agriculturally-based area. Although the local economy now depends on a diversity of activities, including manufacturing, agriculture remains very important.

The ethnic mix of people living in Saskatoon was given in the 1971 Census as about 50% of British origin; this has probably not changed much since then because the city had not had a large influx of recent immigrants to Canada or migrants other than from rural Saskatchewan. The second largest ethnic grouping is people of German origin, followed by Ukrainians. People of French origin are listed as 5% of the 1971 population. Native Indians represented 0.8% of the census count but, as in most urban areas, this seems to be an underestimate of those who have moved from the reserves.

Because of the lack of large urban centres (over 250,000 people) in the province, or even just outside its borders, and because the population has remained spread out in the prairie areas in small communities, the provision of broadcasting services in Saskatchewan has lagged behind other provinces, especially in the provision of second TV stations and in the development of cable TV systems. Until 1976, there were only 3 cable TV systems operating, in the smaller towns nearest to the U.S. border. Then, in a Regina public hearing of major significance to people in Saskatchewan, the CRTC heard applications



for licences to provide cable TV service in four places: Regina, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw and North Battleford.

Prior to the call for applications, the provincial government had already given indications that it would favour the operation of cable TV by co-operative organizations only. Actually, the government encouraged the formation of co-ops in any place where people wished to organize one, provided them with some money to operate on during the organization stage and encouraged them to apply to the CRTC for cable TV licences. The government indicated its intention that only co-ops would be allowed to build cable TV systems because Saskatchewan Telecommunications (Sask Tel, the provincially owned telephone company) would not permit anyone else to do so. Since Sask Tel intended to own the cable TV plant used by any licensee, it appeared this technical restriction would necessitate the co-operative ownership of applicants for licences.

However, the situation rapidly escalated into a federal-provincial argument over who had jurisdiction over cable TV in all its aspects, the province claiming the right (through Sask Tel) to control the distribution hardware of the cable TV system and being willing to concede the right of the federal government to regulate the content carried on the system. The national association of cable TV operators, the Canadian Cable Television Association, also became involved in the dispute by making statements of extreme concern about potential interference by the provinces in federal matters; some CCTA representatives also became quite agitated at the Public Hearing and elsewhere on the subject

of the dangers of co-operative, non-profit ownership of cable TV systems. They seemed to believe that licensing a co-operative would be tantamount to the CRTC turning against private enterprise and profit-making businesses.

When the CRTC finally issued its decisions in July 1976 on the four new licensees, it appeared the Commission tried to reach a compromise - but one which seems to have pleased no-one other than the lucky winners. The Regina and North Battleford licences went to co-operatives; Saskatoon and Moose Jaw went to private company licensees. The people who led the Saskatoon cable co-operative were dismayed that the evidence of large and widespread public support shown by the 150 local organizations which joined the co-op apparently did not carry weight with the Commission in its deliberations. The rejected co-op was determined to carry on its work and see if it would be possible to arrange with the province some other types of TV programming service as a co-operative venture.

Meanwhile, issuing licences by the CRTC was not the simple signal for construction to begin as it might appear. The CRTC found itself caught in an embarrassing situation when it became apparent that Sask Tel was not willing to permit the licensees - as required by the CRTC - to own at least the amplifiers, house drops and local head-ends of their system. (The actual coaxial cable used in the system is often owned by the telephone company in different parts of Canada so there was no real concern about that.) However, Sask Tel insisted it would own and build the entire system or the systems would not be built at all. The

licensees, whether co-operatives or not, were helpless to resolve the deadlock; they could not force Sask Tel to sign a contract for construction and lease of the system. Negotiations had to be undertaken between Saskatchewan and the CRTC for possible licence amendments acceptable to both. The negotiations dragged on for over a year, at which time the Saskatchewan minister responsible for communications was changed; it was not until September 1977 that one licensee - the co-operative in North Battleford - was able to settle on the terms of a contract with Sask Tel that satisfied both parties. The new contract required that only the in-house wiring be owned by the licensee.

Meanwhile, the CRTC and the provincial minister (now Mr. Roy Romanow, the Attorney-General and an MLA from Saskatoon) still had not reached agreement so the North Battleford licence was not amended in light of the new contract. Finally, in November 1977, the licence amendment was granted by the CRTC and the other three licensees were able to apply for similar amendments and then get their service underway. Sask Tel had been installing coaxial cable plant through all four places during 1977, with the basic systems completed in Moose Jaw and North Battleford by the end of that year. The Regina and Saskatoon systems were not finished until mid 1978. This construction did not necessarily include the in-house wiring or house drops to all potential subscriber households.

While the cable licensee in Saskatoon was waiting to have the opportunity to provide cable TV service through Sask Tel facilities, the rejected Saskatoon co-operative had gone ahead



with plans to offer a non-broadcast closed-circuit program service to Saskatoon residents. This would also use Sask Tel facilities but would be provided on a separate wire link inside a subscriber's home and, thus, would not require a broadcasting licence of any kind. The idea of such a closed-circuit system had been discussed between the co-ops of Moose Jaw, Saskatoon and North Battleford before the CRTC decisions on licences was announced. After the decision went against it, the Saskatoon Co-op decided to go ahead with the idea even if it was not the cable TV licensee as well.

The idea became formalized as the Cooperative Programming Network (CPN), which signed a contract with Sask Tel before any of the cable licensees were able to do so. CPN was organized as a federation of local co-ops in Saskatoon, Regina and Moose Jaw, each to provide a programming service, the content for which would be purchased by the federation on behalf of the co-ops. North Battleford's co-op which was licensed by the Commission was originally interested in the programming service but, because of the small population in its area, it was decided not to provide CPN service there at least initially. CPN Regina was a newly formed co-op completely separate from that which received a CRTC licence. Financing for CPN was a \$2.6 million loan provided by Northland Bank, guaranteed by the provincial government under its Co-operatives Guarantee Act.

The situation for potential subscribers was extremely confusing. In Regina, there were two co-operatives, one for cable TV service and one for a TV programming service. In Saskatoon, the cable TV service was provided by Saskatoon Telecable, a

private company, while the programming service was provided by the co-op.

However, this confusion was nothing compared to the muddle which resulted from delays in Sask Tel hooking up subscribers firstly to the CPN service, later to the cable TV service. There were problems of system security for CPN, initially because Sask Tel was only able to put the CPN service on VHF channels which were readily accessible to all cable subscribers. Later, when the CPN service was moved to mid-band channels, the purchase of a converter was all that was necessary for any cable subscriber to be able to get CPN service free. CPN service did not ever become scrambled signals for which a decoder was necessary so that the numbers of subscribers was far below the numbers of households receiving the service.

CPN also had great problems in organizing the purchase of programs for its service. Home Box Office, the pay TV company in the U.S., did provide a program package which filled one channel. Other purchases were made from a variety of sources but this type of program packaging was strange to CPN management and they had to learn rather quickly a great deal about the entertainment business in the U.S. The supply of programs from Canadian sources was extremely limited and too expensive in most instances.

Because of the high expense of the program material purchased from outside Saskatchewan, combined with the lack of sufficient numbers of subscribers to the service, the available funds for program production within the province was much lower than

expected. Each of the three CPN co-ops was able to do a little local program production but this was much less than the cable licensees were doing by the fall of 1978. The community programming facilities and numbers of staff employed were more limited than the cable licensees could afford.

In the fall of 1978, CPN was able to produce and show the film of a drama created by a Saskatoon theatre group; this was the kind of program that they hoped to do more of but the origination of Saskatchewan programming of any kind - community access or provincial culture - was put under indefinite suspension when CPN was placed in receivership in December 1978. The \$2.6 million loan had been used up by November and the request to the provincial government for additional loan guarantees was not supported. The future of CPN is thus extremely cloudy and this experiment in co-operative ownership may not be continued unless the provincial government agrees to support it.

While CPN Saskatoon was trying to get on its feet, the cable licensee was able to sign up subscribers to the usual cable TV service and began programming for the community channel in January 1978. Because of the public discussion of co-operative ownership, the private licensee was well aware of its duty to show that a private company could provide an active community programming channel. Involvement of service organizations, groups and individuals in the community channel has been generally high although it appears that some groups remained loyal to the co-op ideal and have produced programs only with CPN Saskatoon community access facility. Most of the large groups, such as



credit unions and service clubs, have undertaken some kind of programming activity on an occasional basis with the cable community channel. In November 1978, there were about 22,000 subscribers to Saskatoon Telecable while CPN Saskatoon had about 5,000 paid subscribers (plus an unknown number who did not pay but watched).

The community channel in Saskatoon has been able to develop rapidly an image of community accessibility; a good deal of this development seems to be due to the high awareness in the town of community access possibilities promoted by the original co-op applicant. Before the licence was ever granted, most people were aware, through one or other of the organizations to which they belong, that cable TV allowed access by the local people to production of programs for distribution. Saskatoon, because of its relatively small size, has a very active social organization network of activities the interrelationships between groups seem to be complex and the traditional Prairie populism also seems to be at work in encouraging people to be involved. The degree of social involvement in Saskatoon was remarked on by a number of people, especially those who had lived elsewhere.

This is not to suggest that the program staff at Saskatoon Telecable have not had to make any effort to stimulate programming for the community channel. They have made efforts similar to those made by other cable TV licensees. The Regina co-op licensee has also been getting a good response from community groups and organizations. The difference between Regina and Saskatoon systems appears to be in the greater number of staff

and the equipment resources which the Regina cable co-op has committed from the start of its service. With greater production resources, the Regina community channel seems to be better able to try more ambitious programming formats in the future.

The Saskatoon TV stations, which are now complemented by the addition of the community channel for local programs, are a CBC station which rebroadcasts the Regina CBC television service and a local CTV affiliate. Neither of these stations undertake local news or information programs beyond the customary type. Local Saskatoon news is extremely limited on both stations; the CBC station has more Regina and province-wide news programming than strictly Saskatoon news. The CTV station has several local interview-type programs in the morning local-time hours; these do provide the opportunity for local organizations to publicize upcoming events such as concerts or fund-raising drives.

Much of the programming on the community channel is also of the interview type; the difference is really one of minor significance. The interviewers are usually volunteers, and the interviews are of flexible length rather than to fill a fixed program slot. The magazine format program frequently used is a sensible way to fit together several segments of interviews into one hour or half-hour. In addition to interviews (which may be with local people or visitors to Saskatoon), there is a limited amount of ethnic programming. Perhaps because most people are long-time residents of Saskatchewan, and the principal ethnic groups are well recognized as part of the community, there

is not as high a demand for access by ethnic groups here as in other areas. Those which do have programs are the more newly-arrived groups, such as East Indians and Chinese. The Federation of Saskatchewan Indians has a weekly program, produced at their own facilities. There is also a regular Ukrainian program in addition to special programs recording the various cultural-religious celebrations of the Ukrainian year.

Religious programming, aside from special religious services, is limited to 1 1/2 hours each week, repeated once. This time is rotated between the various groups and individuals who wish to use the community channel. Because the community channel only began on a significant scale to distribute programs in spring 1978, no measurement of audience size or audience response has been made. Since the size of audience has no effect on costs of programming and there has been room to add series or single programs to the schedule without difficulty, the need did not arise until 1979 for any ordering of the requests for access. Because there have been only a few organizations which have participated in programming series, none for very long, the local groups and individuals have not yet asked themselves if their efforts in program production are repaid through audience response.

While this interval between production programs and audience response may be true in cable TV - for many systems, anyway - the same cannot be true to the same extent in radio. There are no community radio stations in Saskatoon. There are only three FM stations in the area: a CBC FM rebroadcaster for the CBC FM



network, via Regina; a local private FM station; the university FM station at the University of Saskatchewan.

CJUS-FM has been broadcasting since 1964 as a non-commercial station; it has been funded since the beginning by the University and by the Students' Union of the University. The station has more of an educational radio stance than of a community radio approach to University radio. When it began in 1964, that was the normal way to proceed. However, the station has as its priority the production and presentation of local programming using the resources of the community and the university. Being the premier university in the province (the U. of S. campus at Regina became a separate university about ten years ago), the University Board and the Students' Union are both willing to spend money to create a university-based general programming service for as wide an area of Saskatchewan as possible.

Because this is only an FM transmitter with 3.8 KW of radiated power, the coverage area - even in this province - is not as great as the station would like. While there is an on-going exploration of other possibilities for extending the coverage area, CJUS remains a Saskatoon station with special emphasis on Saskatoon local programming as far as possible within existing resources.

Much of the local programming involves the participation of university faculty; through the resources of the Audio Visual Services division and with the co-operation of the Public Library system of Saskatoon, a number of series are prepared for children and adults. CJUS also works with the University's Extension

department and with the Saskatoon School Board to produce instructional and general education programs. Some programming is intended to be of particular interest to students and faculty on campus but most of the schedule would also be of interest to some of the off-campus people of Saskatoon. CJUS places emphasis, whenever possible, on the production of programs of music and drama prepared by local artists and musician groups. Aside from any multicultural program series which are prepared by university faculty or acquired from other sources, there are usually several series of ethnic programs presented each week by individuals and groups, either students or from the community, mostly in their own language.

With a permanent station manager, employed by the University, and several part-time staff who are students and faculty, this represents the core of the station's operation; therefore, a great deal of the on-air introduction and operation of programming depends on a list of volunteers who have received basic radio training at the station. Most of the volunteers are students but there are always a few from the community of Saskatoon. Access by people in Saskatoon to radio production and presentation on FM radio is possible on CJUS.

Apart from its own programming, CJUS presents several program series from other non-commercial radio stations in Canada and the U.S. It also makes use of music programming provided by European broadcasting corporations and picks up short-wave radio broadcasts from the BBC and the Voice of America for re-broadcast.

The station's source of funds in its earlier years was mainly the Students' Union but, as costs have risen and there is need to spend money on replacement or extension of the physical plant of the station, the University has had to be relied on more and more. Since January 1977, the University has undertaken to pay for all of capital costs and 75% of operating costs of the budget submitted to a broadcast policy board set up to over-see the operation of the station. The Students' Union and the University are represented on the board, which appoints one member of the general public annually, to represent the community. If CJUS does expand its services to a wider area of the province, as part of a provincial educational network, it seems likely that there will be a different arrangement made to fund the station with provincial participation either directly or through Saskmedia, the province's educational media organization.



## KITCHENER-WATERLOO, ONTARIO

The cities of Kitchener and Waterloo are commonly referred to as "twin cities"; many services are organized jointly between them and local organizations frequently span the two cities also. However, Waterloo remains a separate municipality and, despite periodic talk of amalgamation, the Waterloo residents are not likely to vote for a change as long as municipal taxes and house prices remain lower in Waterloo than they are in Kitchener. The latter is by far the bigger city with 131,870 people in 1976. At that time, Waterloo had only 46,623. Aside from size, the two cities are different in other ways, due to their different origins and present economic character.

The Kitchener area was settled first by Mennonites leaving the U.S. around 1800 because of religious intolerance. They were later joined by Mennonites from European countries; they all preferred to set up rural communities and live on the land as farmers. The town which became Kitchener was founded as Berlin and settled by German-speaking immigrants from Alsace and various German principalities. These immigrants, who began arriving in the 1820s, were usually traders and craftsmen, not farmers. Until 1916, when the name was changed to Kitchener (against the wishes of most local people), the town was largely populated by German-speaking people. After 1916, the use of the German language declined although the people of German origin continued to represent a major portion of the population.

The significance of the German presence has continued up to the present although diluted by more recent immigration and migration. In 1971, the ethnic groups were tabulated by the Census as British origin 45%, German origin 32%. Since 1945, other people have come to settle in Kitchener from almost every European country but none in very large numbers. There are now about 60 ethnic groups (representing people from all over the world) organized in the K-W and Cambridge areas. The Oktoberfest which began in 1968 as a tourist attraction is focussed on the German traditions but has also incorporated a range of cultural activities from other countries too.

Waterloo is the home of two universities, the University of Waterloo and Sir Wilfrid Laurier University (formerly Waterloo Lutheran University). It might be said that the universities form the major economic base of Waterloo because of the property taxes paid for their presence by the province and from the services supplied to university staff, faculty and students. Kitchener, on the other hand, has a diverse manufacturing base as the principal source of prosperity and is increasingly attracting white collar industry also. Kitchener has the distinction of being the third fastest growing city in Canada; its population has been growing at a steady rate of 4% per year since its foundation and the rate appears to have accelerated within the past three years.

The progression of steady economic growth and prosperity in Kitchener makes it a very unusual place in Canada. This is not a one-company town subject to extreme cycles of activity

nor is it a city which has been by-passed by economic events beyond its control. Kitchener is in an exceptionally favourable spot to benefit from the economic growth of southern Ontario generally. The Waterloo region at present is experiencing a period of widespread economic growth, in Kitchener-Waterloo as well as in Cambridge and other smaller centres. The regional population is about one quarter of a million and growing. It has been estimated that one-third of Canada's economic activity exists within 100 miles of Kitchener-Waterloo. Located beside the principal highway between Toronto and Windsor, with two railways running through and close to the Great Lakes shipping through the port of Hamilton (only 35 miles away), the area is provided with the best possible position from which to manufacture and distribute goods and services to the Canadian market. In this area, economic stagnation is not a readily remembered concept; even in the great depression of the 1930s, Kitchener did very well.

Against the backdrop of this steady and enduring economic strength, one would expect that the area would show a burgeoning broadcasting establishment. In fact, this is not so due to the cities' proximity to other larger centres. In this case, the closeness of Toronto and other cities works to Kitchener's disadvantage in the sense of providing diversity in the local conventional media. In television, there is only one local TV station. CKCO-TV has had to extend its coverage area north and west of the area to reach people otherwise unserved by Canadian television; the result has been that CKCO is regarded by its



owners (and consequently by many people in the area) as a regional TV station, not a local one. The programming which is produced by the station is partly the local news type, with emphasis on regional matters, not on K-W issues. Other local-time programs of interviews, which are often produced by private stations in the morning hours, also tend to be for the wider audience and not of specific interest to the Kitchener-Waterloo area. A few other programs are produced for use on the CTV network, of which CKCO is an affiliate. There is no CBC television station in Kitchener; the CBC service is received from London CFPL and from Toronto CBLT.

Of the local radio stations, Central Ontario Television Ltd. (owners of CKCO-TV) own CKKW-AM and CKCA-FM. Greatlakes Broadcasting Systems Ltd. (a subsidiary of Maclean-Hunter) owns CHYM-AM and CKGL-FM. There is no local CBC presence. There are two additional radio stations which provide the opportunity for new forms of local programming to be distributed in the area; CKWR-FM is a non-commercial community FM station broadcasting from Kitchener and CKMS-FM is a low-power student FM station located at the University of Waterloo.

Of course, these local TV and radio stations have always been supplemented by the reception of non-local signals, from Hamilton, London, Guelph and Toronto mainly. With the introduction of cable TV service, a number of TV and radio stations were provided to subscribers in good-quality reception or for new reception of stations previously beyond reach. The cable TV system provides service to a very large area centred on Kitchener-Waterloo and

on Cambridge nearby; it has extended its service to other municipalities and smaller communities so that its area goes to Stratford in the west and Elmira in the north. Altogether, fourteen communities are within the licensed area although not all places are yet served, especially in the rural parts. The cable system had about 86,000 subscribers in the fall of 1978.

The community channel became operative in 1973, with staff producing most of the programming since that time. Until 1978, all program production was limited to the company's studio unless other people had their own production equipment. Recently acquired mobile equipment will help to provide possibilities for program origination other than in the Kitchener studio. While the Kitchener location is fairly accessible to people in Kitchener, Waterloo and Cambridge, it is not particularly easy for people in Stratford to go that distance. The implementation of a plan to place local staff resident in some of the communities will probably help to alleviate this problem of physical accessibility to the system's community channel.

The involvement of local people in community programming on cable TV is still quite limited although the channel has been available for more than six years. Clearly, the provision of a community channel, even with a production studio and paid staff, does not necessarily lead to an active programming schedule. The inter-relationship between media usage by non-professional people in video and radio has been an interesting one and is perhaps best illustrated by the history of a community-oriented group called Wired World Inc. Before going on to describe this

group, we might note that the existence of two community-oriented non-commercial radio stations in the area may provide some alternative to the use of video for community communications. That may explain why Grand River Cable TV has not experienced the persistent complaints evident in some other places (e.g., Vancouver) from people who seek a more active role in the production of programming for the community channel.

This is not intended to imply that Grand River Cable TV (GRC) does not undertake programming for the community channel. There are indeed the usual range of programs on the channel: ethnic, religious, sports, public affairs, public meetings, home crafts and hobbies. The channel also carries a number of instructional stories from WLU. The program staff, as is often the case, provide the production crew and many of the on-air people (interviewer and interviewee) are volunteers and local people. Most of the programs have an interview format, taped in the studio (newly built and specifically designed for the purpose in 1978). The process of community animation, in the employment of people specially assigned to increase awareness of the possibilities of video programming for publicity and information and to encourage the involvement in program creation, has only just begun.

The idea for the formation of Wired World Inc. came from a group of students at the University of Waterloo who wanted to extend the service of Radio Waterloo (a closed circuit campus radio station) to the wider community. In 1971, they explored a number of ways this might be done but were not able to interest the students' federation in the scheme of setting up a campus



FM radio station at that time. Through the use of funds from Opportunities for Youth (OFY), the group extended its efforts and involved other people from the University and the community of Kitchener to develop community awareness of the possibility for participation in the media, both video and audio. Programs were produced for showing on the community channel. The group owned its own video equipment.

Radio programs were also produced and distributed on Radio Waterloo. Furthermore, an arrangement was made with CHYM-FM (now CKGL-FM) to use one hour each week for free broadcast of a prepared program. This arrangement continued for two years and proved to be a valuable training-ground in the production of community-oriented radio programs. On a few occasions, the Wired World tape was not aired by CHYM-FM but usually their access to the airwaves was assured.

During the early stages of the group's development, one major public issue arose which provided the Wired World group with a good illustration of why access to the media had to be opened to people other than private interests. In June 1971, it was discovered that a major property development agreement was being made by the Kitchener city council with a development corporation from Alberta. The deal involved the demolition of the old city hall and the farmers' market which had long been established in the centre of the city. No information on the impending deal was provided to the public before the council was to give its final approval; the silence of the local media (daily newspaper and the radio and TV stations) was due to their

acceptance of the need for silence, not to their lack of awareness of the plan. Once news of the development plan became public, through the University of Waterloo "Chevron" (the student newspaper), the conventional media news staff broke their silence reluctantly. The balance of coverage of opinions for and against the development was uneven; those opposed to the development found it difficult to get their reasons for opposition publicized. While the political campaign for and against the development was going on up to the plebiscite vote in December 1971, the media had to be prodded to provide fair coverage.

During 1972, Wired World became involved in providing community media support to striking workers at the Dare cookie factory in Kitchener. Through their work with them, it became increasingly clear to the group that radio, not video, was more useful for these purposes of putting people in a position to create their own media messages. The group used its one-hour program time on the local FM station more effectively for this purpose than they were able to do on Grand River Cable TV's community channel. The difficulty of using the community channel effectively as a medium for community animation was further increased by GRC itself when it employed staff to undertake its own community programming. Wired World found it increasingly difficult to get its video tapes played back on the community channel.

By summer 1972, Wired World was concentrating its efforts on getting an FM station licence of its own. Getting the licence was a long drawn-out process because this was the first

application for a non-commercial station from an urban-based group with no affiliation with a university. (The station CKRL-FM had been licensed in Québec but, although the station was community-oriented, its base of operations was the Laval University students' society.) Wired World was granted a licence for an FM station in August 1973. Almost up to the date when CKWR-FM went on air in March 1974, the Wired World group continued to produce radio programs for airing on CHYM-FM each week.

Since CKWR-FM went on air in 1974, the approximately 200 watt station has sought to operate without any government grants at all. In this respect, it is unusual if not unique among community radio stations in Canada. In fact, several research contracts from the federal government were received but the expectation was that, in Kitchener-Waterloo, sufficient funds for operation could be raised from listeners and from local organizations and businesses. In the economic context of this area, such a goal does seem to be a practical one, especially since Wired World Inc. had been set up as a non-profit corporation with charitable status for the purpose of receiving donations. The station also had a membership fee of \$12 per year as another source of money. It was intended all along that volunteers would be the mainstay of daily operations and that paid staff would be kept to an absolute minimum.

However, even operating on a low key like this did not prove to be easy for the station. Technical problems with the transmitter and with other equipment proved to be too expensive to repair easily and, as break-downs occurred, local support



dwindled. Lack of support meant there was in turn less money available to resolve the technical difficulties and thus the downward spiral was re-inforced. This culminated in the station being off the air because of transmitter failure. When a new transmitter had been acquired, this worked for a while and then it too broke down, requiring expensive repairs. All this put the station in debt, lost it much community support in donations and in program participation; it also made the technical licenser, the DOC, unhappy about the poor use of an allocated frequency.

By January 1977, none of the people originally involved in the setting up of the station were there any more. A new group of people had become active and were determined to resolve the operational, technical and financial problems of the station. By May 1977, the station was broadcasting again at the usual hours in the evenings and on weekends. No-one was paid staff and the executive group then set about raising money to pay off the debts. By fall 1978, they managed to do this by a combination of cutting back on operating expenses, ensuring that programming was supported by community-raised funds and by special on-air fund-raising efforts.

The programming produced by the station in its earlier years was a mixture of informational and entertainment programs, ranging from radio drama, taping of local concerts, ethnic programming and discussions of local issues or current events. As with all volunteer-based radio stations, the level of programming and its complexity of production depend to a considerable extent

on the individual people working there; these tend to change over time, perhaps especially in a place where university students formed a core of those involved, as in CKWR.

After the station resumed operation with new people involved in early 1977, the programming was organized more strictly according to its financial support and programs have to be sponsored at the minimal rate of \$10 an hour to get on the air. Much of the programming in the fall of 1978 was ethnic programming and religious programming although this will probably change as other people and groups become aware of the possibility to produce programs. The station itself does not undertake any program production since there is no program staff.

We have described at some length the development of CKWR because it has been going longer than other urban stations and because its ups and downs show that it is possible for a non-commercial station to be revitalized when the initiating group members are no longer there. The longevity of this type of station thus is not an impossibility.

The base of operation for the other community-oriented FM station in the area is quite different and seems much more secure, on the campus of the University of Waterloo. The origin of CKMS-FM was Radio Waterloo, a closed-circuit radio service funded by the students of the University and run by students since 1969. (In 1971, some students who had been working at Radio Waterloo became the nucleus of the group known as Wired World.) Radio Waterloo was carried on the cable TV systems as cable radio from 1970 and this continued for several years.

In 1976 they found that, because they did not have an over-air signal, the cable TV system was not permitted under a new CRTC policy to carry a radio signal such as Radio Waterloo. The radio club immediately applied for a carrier current licence; shortly after that, to ensure they would be carried on cable, Radio Waterloo applied for a low-power FM radio licence from the CRTC. Over-air broadcasts of CKMS-FM, with a power of 50 watts, began in October 1977. Through its carriage on cable, the radio station has a large potential audience in the Kitchener-Waterloo area. Although it has only been broadcasting since fall 1977, the station has a history of ten years' experience in program production especially for its student audience, and almost as long in programming for the wider audience in Kitchener-Waterloo.

Since May 1978, CKMS has been separated from the Federation of Students at the University and depends primarily on a refundable student fee levied on all undergraduates each term at the time of registration. In the fall of 1978, about 7% of the students claimed their fee back. Approximately \$50,000 a year for operating expenses should be raised by this means from now on. Capital costs have to come from other sources; with a reduction in the amount of money available from federal sources, the station will probably rely more on the provincial sources such as Wintario and Ontario Arts Council. The University itself makes a considerable contribution through the provision of free space, heat and electricity.

Because of the large number of campus radio organizations in Ontario (mostly closed-circuit or carrier current and a few



with FM licences), there has been a province-wide organization set up which should help to co-ordinate the search for alternative sources of funding. Compared to others, however, CKMS is comparatively well-funded on a secure basis, tied to the numbers of undergraduate students at the university; in 1978, there were about 17,000 full-time and part-time students at UW.

Student radio, a grouping to which CKMS belongs, has been defined by the CRTC to have four purposes: (a) to communicate with students beyond the immediate reach of any student carrier current or closed-circuit systems in operation at the university or college; (b) to reach students who do not belong to that particular university or college; (c) to communicate the concerns, interests and activities of the campus as well as of the academic environment to the public; (d) to offer to the general public innovative and alternative programming fare which makes use of the many resources available at the academic institution. Each student radio station usually depends for most of their funds on the students so they tend to emphasize the first two of these purposes more than the others. (In our definition, a university radio station is one which is primarily funded by the institution and it is usually most interested in the third and fourth purposes.)

CKMS produces a range of programs of primary interest to students, especially in the type of music played; no programs are intended particularly for the public at large although the program mix is seen by the station as a valuable alternative to the local commercial radio stations. Some ethnic programs are

produced at the station, almost all by students. The risk of duplication in this program type with the offerings of CKWR is not as great as it seems. The more critical perspective which students tend to take towards the establishment means that their programs may not be very welcome to the wider public, especially to older immigrants. Similarly, the kind of ethnic programs on community radio stations such as CKWR may be too heavily focussed on folk music and traditional culture to be interesting to students. For most ethnic programs, CKMS would expect these to be produced at CKWR although the student radio station may always have a few of its own.

Overall, about three-quarters of CKMS programming is music with the other quarter being features. Almost all programs are prepared by volunteers - 170 of them in fall 1978. Only a few of them were not students although there is no limit on this. The feature programs cover a wide range of topics with environmental topics and native issues being two of special interest to the station. Programs for elsewhere are also used; for example, there are music programs from European radio networks and music or information series from other student radio stations, on occasion. The station has never engaged in audience studies depending, as do the other non-commercial stations, on informal responses received from listeners about the particular programs or the general balance of programming provided.

With CKMS and CKWR both being available in the Kitchener-Waterloo area, and both accessible in their own way to the participation of people in the cities of Kitchener and Waterloo,

this area is exceptionally well-provided for in the new forms of local radio programming. In the case of CKWR, heavy reliance has been put on community support of the station for its continuance. For CKMS, its funding base seems to ensure a steady continuity but the present fee arrangement still only lasts as long as the students feel the station provides a useful service. For the student radio station, retribution in terms of loss of funds and volunteers may not be so swift as it is in the case of CKWR, but the possibility is still there.



CHICOUTIMI-JONQUIERE, QUEBEC

In writing this section, and indeed in any references to Québec, we are conscious that using the adjective 'provincial' rather than 'national' in referring to a Québec matter can be interpreted as in itself stating a political preference. It seems to us that, in French, the word 'nation' in reference to Quebec can be about cultural identity whereas, in English, a nation is usually taken to be a reference to political unity. Since we are writing in English, we have referred to the political unit of Québec as a province.

However, we cannot avoid being aware of the fact that many Québecers do not think of Québec as a province, as one of ten such provinces across the continent. Many francophone Québecers seem to be indifferent to what is happening in the rest of Canada. Because the cultural context is so different, they seem to see few parallels between what goes on in their own part of Québec and what happens in other places of similar size elsewhere. Their sense of the completeness of Québec society in itself and their lack of social relationships to people outside the province is clearly evident, especially among young people. It is not possible to deny these attitudes exist, however discouraging it may be for Canadians from other provinces to encounter such perceptions.

Whether the media in Québec can be said to contribute to the isolation of Québec from the rest of Canada has been the subject of debate and detailed analysis already. Many other observers have noted, as we have, that the Canadian content of French

language newspapers, radio and TV in Québec is almost entirely concerned with Québec people and events. Whether social attitudes are created by the media or were already present and are just being reinforced by the media is a problem of analysis which deserves closer attention - and not just regarding the Québec media but all media in Canada.

The history of political development in Québec and the current experiences of the various strands of political ideology which make up Québec political life are very different from those in other provinces. In respect to communications, as one example, the Québec government has maintained for years (through changes of government leaders and parties) an interest in communications policy which is markedly different from the rest of the provincial governments. With reference to the broadcasting media, aside from attempts to gain jurisdiction over certain aspects of the media, the provincial government has taken an active interest in the community media since at least 1972. The Ministry of Communications in Québec (MCQ) has existed since 1969 and since then a number of policy papers on communications have been issued by the province.

Turning now to the area of study for this report, a few comments should be made about the general character of the region in which Chicoutimi and Jonquière exist. The Chicoutimi-Jonquière area is part of the Saguenay-Lac St. Jean region which has a special place of its own in Québec history and society. The region was settled during the nineteenth century and had about

its early days a sense of pioneering in the wilderness. Forestry, farming and later pulp and paper were the foundations of the region's economic life. Much later still was added the heavy industry of aluminum manufacturing. The regional history of Saguenay-Lac St. Jean is dynamic and self-confident although it has been subject to the economic cycles common to all areas heavily dependent on primary industries which export much of their production. A strong sense of identity with a special place within Québec has held the residents together through much of the region's history. The co-operative movement has been active in the region as an attempt to lessen the dependence on outside economic forces.

Despite this tradition of self-reliance, the region has been economically depressed at various times and one of those periodic dips was in the 1960s. At that time, with the growth of ideas of social revolution and social change within Québec, some communities around Lac St. Jean became the experimental ground for a number of government-sponsored programs of aid, especially in efforts to provide adult education and training.

At the same time, the National Film Board's Société Nouvelle program was interested in providing video equipment and training to allow local people to use the television medium as a means of community expression, and for community change. Normandin was the place selected initially in the late 1960s for this experiment because there was already a cable TV system there and people became interested in working with video to produce programs about community problems and issues.



In 1970, people in St. Félixien became interested in trying the same type of thing by producing video programs and distributing them via the local cable system; their interest was prompted by the enthusiasm of several local teachers and an association was formed by about one hundred people. The idea of community television, and the ideology which later surrounded it as an agent for social change, was not special to the Lac St. Jean area but was fairly prevalent in many cities and towns of Québec in the early 1970s. The area does take on special importance, though, because this is where TVC (télévision communautaire) organizations have been most active and effective in providing a program service on local cable TV systems.

The cable TV systems have remained in private hands while the TVCs have been community-based organizations, some widely representative in the smaller communities, others less so. The essential factor necessary to the effective functioning of the TVC is the agreement from the cable operator to allow the TVC to provide or select all the content on the community channel.

If the cable operator does not wish to agree to this, the TVC has been unable to require it by appealing to the CRTC. The Commission has maintained always that the licensee must retain responsibility for the community channel and cannot, therefore, assign that responsibility to someone else. This dispute has taken on political undertones, especially in the early 1970s (less so now for other reasons), because the TVCs have tended to be run by people opposed to the economic and political leaders in their immediate area and have also tended to be nationalist

in the Québec context. Conflict with the federal agency has, thus, taken on a special edge.

There has been no clear-cut resolution of the problem of access to the community channel by the TVCs. A number of TVCs, in one year or another during the past five years, have received some financial aid under the aid program for the community media provided by the Québec ministry of communications. Some of the TVCs have managed to arrange an agreement with the local cable operator for exclusive use of the community channel. Others have struggled for years to get such an agreement and have not been able to get it; as a result, some TVCs have ceased to exist except on paper. The TVC in St. Félicien has successfully operated the community channel there for about seven years. In Ville de la Baie, near Chicoutimi, the local TVC also has had an agreement for use since 1972 which appears to work to everyone's satisfaction. These are rarities, not the general rule. As long as the exclusivity of the agreement for use is not emphasized to the CRTC, the regulatory authority seems to be able to let the TVCs operate as agreed upon locally.

In Chicoutimi-Jonquière, the history of the Quebec TVCs and their efforts to control the production and distribution of community TV programming has passed by this area, partly because there was no cable TV system until 1975. The population size and the number of different communities in the service area may also have been an inhibiting factor, in organizing any community television group.

The Chicoutimi-Jonquière area consists of the two principal towns of the Saguenay sub-region; in turn that is part of the Saguenay-Lac St. Jean region of Québec. This is a distinct geographic, economic and social region, physically isolated until recently from the main centres of population in the province. One hundred and thirty miles away is the city of Québec, the nearest large city; many cities and towns are strung along both sides of the St. Lawrence river from Quebec and up-river, especially near to Montréal, the highest population centre by far in Québec. The population of metropolitan Montréal is about 45% of the total population in Québec. Its dominance in every aspect of provincial life is very high and Montréal events affect every part of the province. Even the Saguenay-Lac St. Jean region is not isolated from that influence; this is certainly the case today in the provision of mass media services such as broadcasting and newspapers.

The population of Chicoutimi in 1976 was 57,737 with Jonquière almost the same at 57,182. These two towns are almost one physically because urban growth from both is now conjoined. The conurbation produced from these two cities is the major centre for the Haut Saguenay and it is roughly equal in population size to the whole of the Lac St. Jean population, which is scattered in small communities around the perimeter of the lake. The aluminum smelter town of Arvida and the town of Kénogami add further industrial and population weight to the Saguenay. If plans for major new industrial plants related to aluminum and the pulp industry go ahead, there will be further growth



to the southeast of Chicoutimi and including Ville de la Baie. The prospect of one huge amorphous industrial-commercial centre surrounding Chicoutimi-Jonquière is looming, to the concern of those hoping to retain some sense of local community contact within the future agglomeration.

At present, people in each municipality appear to retain some sense of their different communities, at least in the central parts of the towns. In Ville de la Baie, recently formed by amalgamation of three smaller towns, many people seem to retain a strong sense of belonging to the smaller places of Port Alfred, Bagotville or Grand Baie. Possibly one of the reasons for this is that residents have lived there for a long time and they are not transient people who have lived in other parts of Quebec. While the population of the area grows, most of the growth comes from within and there is a highly homogenous population in the region. The people are 95% of French origin, with about 3% of British origin. French language usage is probably close to 98%, both at home and at work. (This is a definite contrast to the situation in Montreal city where the population is about 50-50 split between Francophone and Anglophone people.)

Because of the region's cultural character, we would expect the broadcasting media to reflect this in being almost entirely French language for the area. The over-air TV broadcasting stations which are licensed to serve either Chicoutimi or Jonquière are both French language but they are supplemented on cable TV by imported English and French TV signals, brought in by microwave or locally distributed from tapes. The local TV stations

are CJPM-TV, an affiliate of the TVA network, and CKRS-TV, an affiliate of the Radio Canada network. Both networks are based in Montréal and the stations carry a great deal of Montréal originated programming as well as some dubbed foreign programs. Local programming on both stations is limited to newscasts, with the usual type of local interview programs and some community announcements of local events. Radio Canada does not own a TV station in the area; there is a rebroadcast transmitter in Chicoutimi for the CBC English language TV service but it has no local origination capacity and simply rebroadcasts the Montréal CBC TV service. (Provision of the English language TV and radio service by CBC has been undertaken recently under the provision of the Accelerated Coverage Plan.)

Other TV stations which provide programming on the Chicoutimi cable service are: CJBR from Rimouski, a Radio Canada O&O station; CFCF of Montréal, a CTV affiliate; WEZF, a UHF station from Burlington, New York, which is affiliated to the ABC network. Another channel on the cable service is reserved for the use of Radio Québec, the provincial educational broadcasting corporation. Its programs are sent on tape from the Montréal station and are shown locally on a delayed basis.

The cable system originates three other channels of content as part of its service. One is the community channel; a second is Canadian Press News. The third is called STAD (Service de Télévision à Demande), a channel on which catalogue-listed programs and films requested by any subscriber can be shown at the time and day selected. Radio stations carried on cable are

limited to the three FM signals available for off-air pick-up: Radio Canada's FM network service from its Chicoutimi station; the CBC English AM network service rebroadcast from the Montréal station; CHOC-FM the community radio station in Jonquière.

The cable TV system which provides this choice of TV and FM radio signals is Télésag, a private company which has the licence to provide service in Chicoutimi, Jonquière, Arvida, Kénogami and surrounding areas, plus the Canadian Forces Base at Bagotville. The cable system has been in operation for only three years and has about 17,500 subscribers out of a possible total of 28,000. This cable system is well-placed to benefit from population growth in the Haut Saguenay area and its subscriber levels are bound to rise over the next few years.

Télésag participates in a microwave consortium called Microbec with nine other cable operators in the region and on the St. Lawrence, to bring in the English language TV signals of CFCF from Montréal and WEZF from Burlington. Other signals may be brought in on a similar basis, in the future. It is interesting to note that, while Télésag and several cable operators at the western end of Lac St. Jean participate in Microbec, the system adjacent to Télésag does not.

The neighbouring system is Vidéo Déry, which provides cable TV service in Ville de la Baie. The TV signals and radio signals on the Vidéo Déry are all French language except for the CBC English TV signal locally rebroadcast. Vidéo Déry has about 4,100 subscribers out of a possible 5,000. This is also the system referred to previously where a successful TVC is in operation.



The programming shown on the community channel of Télésag is still quite limited although technical resources seem to be adequate, with possibilities for mobile productions as well as studio work, and there are program staff available to work on productions part-time or full-time. In general, volunteer participation by people in the area is low. Some social service groups and organizations do get involved in interview programs on an occasional basis, mostly for purposes of information about their activities locally. The staff have requested programming ideas from the groups they have contacted in the area but have not had much response. Awareness of the community channel and its purpose seems to be low, as is its audience. The programming produced by the staff is intended for people throughout the whole of the service area; no distinction is made between programs which might be of interest to people in Chicoutimi and those of interest to Jonquière or other places in the area.

Radio service has been much more actively pursued as a means of providing new forms of local programming in Chicoutimi and Jonquière than has cable service and its community channel. The area did have two community radio stations for a short while and it is interesting to review the history of both stations, one of which was based in Chicoutimi, the other still operating from Jonquière. The orientations of the two stations were very different; about the only things they had in common were that they were FM stations owned by non-profit corporations registered in Québec.

1973 was the year when interest in FM radio was sparked in the region. In summer 1973, an investigation into electronic

media in the region was conducted by a group of people who were professors and administrators at the University of Québec at Chicoutimi (UQAC), journalists, businessmen and union members. From an interest in the co-operative model of ownership (also at that time being developed by the co-operative TV station organization in Hull) and from a realization that there was only one FM station providing services in the region, the group and other interested people began to explore seriously the idea of setting up a co-operatively owned FM station. The intention was to set up a station which would serve all the people in the whole region and would depend primarily on advertising for support of a programming service of music of all types.

Preliminary approaches in fall 1973 to the CRTC on licensing of such a station revealed that, if the station were to be supported by prestigious advertising, then the Commission would be willing to consider a licence application. A request to the Québec ministry of financial institutions for co-operative status of the new organization was turned down because the organization could not show that its service would be available only to co-op members; the organization then became incorporated as a non-profit corporation under the appropriate provincial statute, in 1974. The licence application was heard by the CRTC and a licence for CHUT-FM was approved in June 1974. The station went on-air in June 1975.

Although the organization intended to rely on prestigious advertising for most of its revenue, the CRTC treated the application as for a community FM station because of the non-profit

character of the applicant. The organization took as its name La Radio Communautaire FM du Saguenay-Lac St. Jean, although the participants generally do not seem to have regarded their station as a community FM station in the sense of depending on volunteers from the community as the basis of operation.

Participation by people in the region was envisaged in the running of the organization which owned the station but, as time went by, it became increasingly clear that participation in the day-to-day operation of the station was not possible. The original plan of programming for the station was to have about 20% of the total schedule as community programming - programs prepared by people not employed by the station. This part of the plan never materialized. The basic reason for this seems to lie in the early decisions made on the hiring of staff for the station. Very quickly, there were more than ten full-time staff and additional part-time staff were hired as well by the station managers.

How it came about that such a large permanent staff was employed is not entirely clear but this proved to be a crucial decision in the evolution of the station. It became more difficult for non-staff to play any part in the planning or production of programming. With a solid group of young staff members who were politically active, it did not take long for them to decide on the need for unionization. The staff then saw themselves as the professionals in charge of station operation and they became unwilling to accept direction from the Board of Directors or its executive committee.



The community aspect of the non-profit corporation was most evident initially in the general assemblies and membership meetings held before the station went on the air in 1975. Before the licence was even received, there was widespread interest in the idea of a regional station and the corporation was able to raise \$100,000 from local contributions of donations and memberships. There were about 4,500 members who paid \$10 each. The structure of the organization was intended to reflect the region which the station would serve; the programming committee in particular was intended to ensure that the various parts of the region could indicate their preferences and priorities in program content. The region was divided for this purpose into six zones, with one representative for each zone to be on the committee; the board (conseil d'administration) was also intended to provide for the zones to be represented. When the station went on the air, however, it was found that not all zones could receive the signal adequately. Consequently, representatives from zones of poor reception tended not to attend meetings and the representative nature of the organizational structure was lost to some extent.

Originally the station was not intended to provide a program service for any particular target audience; it was to be all things to everyone in the region. As the station's programming developed, however, it became increasingly a music station with a strong emphasis on rock music. This orientation was highly popular with the young people of the region whose only other FM choice was the Radio Canada FM service. Generally,

the station was able to attract significant numbers of listeners, between 20 and 30 thousand; almost all FM listening appears to have been to CHUT, for a time anyway. While audience size was not a problem, however, the level of sponsorship revenue was.

Because of the dependence on commercial revenues (whether it took the form of sponsorships or direct advertising might not have made any difference), the need for inoffensive programming was paramount. Whether the audience was offended or not did not seem to matter as much as whether the commercial sponsors were themselves offended or thought their business customers might be. Staff members were heard to criticize certain sponsors on the air and this, combined with the sponsors' view of some programming as ill-organized and ill-prepared, led to a drop in sponsorship revenues. Although revenues remained quite high throughout the station's life, they never were able to cover the costs of station operation. Annual operating costs of around \$200,000 were difficult to meet from sponsorships; they could only cover about half of that. The remainder had to be raised from donations and memberships. The provincial Ministry of Communications (MCQ) contributed \$30,000 in the 1976-77 year and also provided technical assistance. The University of Québec at Chicoutimi provided studio space and technical resources at low charge.

The station's demise was preceded by another major conflict between the board and the staff. Because of members' negative reaction to the programming, there was poor attendance at general

meetings; this allowed a minority which supported the staff to pass resolutions in favour of certain staff priorities. The cost of these changes was beyond what the board thought the station could afford. In August 1977, the station was informed that MCQ would not be providing a grant for 1977-78. On its own decision, the board closed down the station in September 1977, for a 15 day period of discussions and negotiations with the staff. After that, the station resumed for three days before the board again decided that operation could not continue. CHUT-FM ceased to exist when its licence was surrendered to the CRTC.

The sort of controversy and conflict illustrated by the history of CHUT is very far removed from the development of CHOC-FM in Jonquière. This second station also began from the ideas and initiatives of the group of people in Chicoutimi who began inquiry into the media in the region in spring 1973. However, it quickly took another direction in Jonquière after consultations were arranged with local organizations and institutions in that city. It was realized that there were serious gaps in information services on behalf of local education and social institutions; there were also information needs of individuals and community groups which were not being met through the media. It was decided in 1974 to go ahead and seek to set up an FM radio station in Jonquière to meet these informational needs. Committees of volunteers were formed to examine particular aspects of station establishment, for programming, funding, organizational charter and technical matters.



The fledgling organization approached the CRTC in November 1974 with its plan for a new FM station and were encouraged to proceed in preparing a licence application; CHUT-FM had just been licensed by the CRTC in June 1974. While awaiting for the licence application to be processed, the local organization was formed as a non-profit corporation and it went ahead with training local people in radio production, with the help of funds mainly from the Local Initiatives Program (LIP). Even before the station was licensed and ready to go on-air in spring 1977, the production staff and volunteers had been busy practising live programming techniques and the collection of information about local issues for use in documentary-style programs.

The organization, called Radio Communautaire de Jonquière, is run by a board with several committees responsible to it. A programming committee is made up of three listeners, three production committee members, one program co-ordinator, one staff member and one person from the Board of Directors. There are usually two paid staff, depending on funding. There are about 80 local volunteers involved in programming. The goals of the station have been from the beginning to fill some of the information gaps existing in the local area. The station's effective power of 423 watts means it is received well in only three communities: Jonquière, Kénogami and Arvida. The station is carried on the cable TV systems of Télésag and Vidéo Déry so that gives it greater reach than would otherwise be possible. An increase in power through its own transmitter is being considered by the corporation. At present, about 85,000 people are

within reach of the signal over-air.

The station's operational costs are about \$40,000 each year but needs more than this to pay for needed capital expenditures. While the station is able to receive some funding from MCQ, it can raise close to \$40,000 locally but the cut-back in federal manpower and local services funding has made it extremely difficult to pay the staff full-time. "Staff" in this instance can sometimes mean a full-time volunteer - which is an unreasonable burden on certain people. They may be willing to undertake the work for a while but cannot continue for years like this.

Programming by the station amounts to about 36 hours broadcast time. Almost all of it is locally produced, with some programs from other community radio stations in the province. About 40% of the programs are music, the rest informational - e.g., local news and analyses of municipal, educational, union, social and economic activities. Much of the informational programming is produced by teams of volunteers, co-ordinated by the staff. To approach the examination of specific questions and issues, a team of volunteers would be formed to prepare documentary-style programming, probably in a series. There are also service-type programs of information for organized groups and institutions, such as unions, women's groups and educational institutions. Specific local and regional programs are done from time to time, depending on the events, or on requests for access by interested groups. The music programs are provided by volunteers interested in particular kinds of music who talk about and introduce selections from the station's music collection.

It would be simplistic to say that the different histories of the two radio stations illustrate the differences between Chicoutimi and Jonquièrre. There is, however, a grain of truth in this observation. Chicoutimi is the government and institutional centre for the region while Jonquièrre is much more a workers' town especially with Arvida as its neighbour. It might appear to be more natural, then, for Chicoutimi people to think of having a regional station than it would be for people in Jonquièrre. The local nature of the Jonquièrre station was perhaps dictated to some extent by the prior existence of the regional station at Chicoutimi. But even if that had never existed (and now that it does not exist), it seems likely that the people involved in the Jonquièrre station's origin and its continuance would favour a local orientation and be able, through that orientation, to develop a clear goal of responding to the need for locally-based information on radio.



## HALIFAX-DARTMOUTH, NOVA SCOTIA

Halifax and Dartmouth are on the east coast of Nova Scotia. They face each other across Halifax Harbour; the view from one side to the other is very different and perhaps is a visual reminder of the differences which exist between the two cities. Halifax is the capital of Nova Scotia and has a much longer history as an incorporated city than Dartmouth does, although people have been living on both shores of Halifax Harbour since about 1750. The city of Halifax was incorporated in 1841 and it had a population of 117,822 by 1976. The population growth of Halifax and its surrounding suburbs has been rather slow since 1950, about 1 or 2% per year. By contrast, Dartmouth, which had only around 12,000 people in 1950, had mushroomed to 65,341 by 1976. Unlike Halifax which has a major part of the city fully built-up and has more recently expanded beyond to newer suburbs, Dartmouth has had a very small core of downtown area - now in need of major renovation - and much of the population is spread widely over a large area which is interspersed by about a score of lakes.

In addition to Halifax and Dartmouth cities, there are newer areas of urban growth and industrial growth around Bedford and Sackville, at the head of Bedford Basin; all of this is within the municipal county of Halifax, an additional level of local government. The presence of provincial government departments and regional offices of federal government

departments in Halifax adds more layers to the governmental presence in the city. The port of Halifax is the base for the Atlantic naval command of the Canadian Armed Forces and is also used by the Coast Guard and by marine research establishments. Until the end of the Second World War, Halifax was heavily dependent on the military and naval establishments for much of its income. That was of course, after the decay of the shipping industry and the fishing industry in the Maritimes which had flourished there before Confederation.

The population of metropolitan Halifax was 267,991 in 1976; it is the largest metropolitan area in Atlantic Canada and represents about one-third of the province's population. A significant element in the metropolitan area (mostly within the city of Halifax) is the student population. In 1976, there were about 14,350 full-time students in the area and another 4,000 or so part-timers. The students of Dalhousie University represent about half of the total with the rest shared between several other universities and colleges. The large student numbers and the presence of armed forces personnel results in a higher than usual proportion of people aged 25-34 in the area than in the general population of Nova Scotia.

Ethnic origins of people in the metropolitan area are relatively unchanged from a hundred years ago; there have not been significant numbers of immigrants attracted to the area - indeed, there has been a considerable emigration, compensated

by the inward movement of people from the rest of Nova Scotia and from other Maritime provinces. About 78% of the people are of British origin. Together with people of French and German origin, the percentage would be over 90% for the three. People who have made a significant social impact on the Halifax area from the time of their arrival are the escaped and freed slaves from the United States who settled in the middle of the 19th century, and their descendants. Today, there are an estimated 17,000 black Nova Scotians, most of whom live in or near Halifax county.

The provision of media services in Halifax-Dartmouth is more diverse in this area than in the rest of the province or in its neighbours so the choice offered here is in many ways the best that is available to Maritimers. Having said that, it is discouraging to see just how limited the choice really is, in broadcasting and in newspapers. The two daily newspapers in Halifax are the "Chronicle-Herald" and the "Mail-Star", one for morning and one for evening. Both are owned and controlled by one man (Graham Dennis) who also owns the weekly Dartmouth paper, "The Free Press". The only local alternatives to these papers are: the "Metro Telecaster", a weekly TV and entertainment guide distributed free but with little or no local information in it aside from program listings; the "Barometer - A Journal of Fact and Opinion", which is



published weekly in Halifax and does have some local reporters and columnists. The "Barometer" has only been published since 1978.

While the "Barometer" is an alternative weekly source of newspaper information, it is still limited in resources and distribution compared to the two daily papers in Halifax which go all over the province and capture most of the newspaper advertising market in the city and province. One newspaper which did provide a sharply contrasting alternative to the conventional papers and their numerous wire service items was the paper called "The 4th Estate". This paper began in 1969 and had folded by 1977. "The 4th Estate" maintained a highly critical attitude towards the leading politicians and businessmen who between them manage Nova Scotia's affairs, whichever party is in power in Halifax. The paper also was accessible and sympathetic to the activities of the many Halifax-area community action groups and artistic groups which were blossoming in the early 1970s, thanks to the federal funding programmes of the time. The paper was able to attract advertising throughout its existence but falling readership reinforced already falling revenues to the point where the paper had to cease publication.

We might expect that broadcasting would provide a welcome addition to the local media which would compensate for the lack of diversity in local newspaper ownership and

content. However, here too there is a limited - though not so limited - opportunity for the articulation of different viewpoints on events and issues of public concern, or even on local Halifax-Dartmouth events and people of interest. The radio stations which are licensed to serve the two cities are seven in number, four AM and three FM stations. CHNS-AM and CHFX-FM are owned by Maritime Broadcasting Co. Ltd., which is controlled by Graham Dennis, the newspaper publisher. CBH and CBH-FM are owned by the CBC. CJCH-AM and CIOO-FM are owned by CHUM Ltd., of Toronto. CFDR-AM is the only station based in Dartmouth and it is owned by a local businessman through Dartmouth Broadcasting Ltd. There are no independent private FM stations; nor are there any student, university or community FM stations.

In television, locally available without cable TV service, there are three VHF stations. The station is CBHT and there is a rebroadcaster of the Radio Canada TV network from Montreal. The only private TV station is CJCH, which is an affiliate of the CTV network. Within that, it also forms part of what is called the ATV mini-network providing TV service to much of the three Maritime provinces (i.e., not including Newfoundland). CJCH is the production centre for much of the regional programming which ATV provides through its affiliated stations. The ATV networking arrangement is made by TV stations which are all

owned by the CHUM group of Toronto. CJCH also undertakes some local programming which is broadcast only the the Halifax station and its own rebroadcasters.

On Halifax cable TV, in addition to the local TV stations, there is: a community channel; a wire service automated news channel (Broadcast News); American commercial stations, one affiliated with ABC and one with NBC; and a station affiliated with the American non-commercial network, PBS. The Dartmouth cable TV system carries the same American stations. All three American stations are broadcasting in the state of Maine and their signals are carried to a number of cable TV systems in the Atlantic provinces via microwave. The cost of the microwave carriage is paid for by a consortium of cable TV operators with costs shared on the basis of subscriber numbers. (This type of consortium now exists in all of the provinces to bring American signals to areas beyond the reach of antenna pick-up. It has extended the audience for local American stations far beyond anything predicted even ten years ago.)

The cable TV service in the area is provided by two different companies, Halifax Cablevision and Dartmouth Cable TV. A third company, Metrovision, has its centre on Bedford-Sackville, and the boundaries between the three eventually will be aligned to provide for service all along the urban areas around Halifax Harbour and Bedford Basin. At present, there are still some service gaps between Halifax and Metro-



vision and between Dartmouth and Metrovision. The community channel for the whole Halifax-Dartmouth area carries programming from both cable TV systems on alternate days, with Sundays shared. This means that a Dartmouth-produced program can be viewed in Halifax and vice versa.

About 70% of households in each service area have cable TV service, which means that Halifax has about twice as many subscribers as the Dartmouth system (28,000 compared to 15,000). This percentage is higher than the average in most Maritime systems, at present.

Lacking a TV station with specific local orientation, and with limited access to local radio stations, one might expect that there would be great pressure on the community channel for access and participation in programming by a multitude of local groups. In fact, this is not the case, although there have been demands made in the past. However, the situation is not such that the local cable staff have to produce all programs themselves; nor do they have great difficulty in attracting any volunteers to get involved in any aspect of the programs. In Dartmouth Cable TV's program production, there is a variety of programming which involves people mainly from Dartmouth, some from the Halifax side. The Halifax Cablevision programming is less wide-ranging, perhaps, but the differences in subject matter are not major. There is a difference of approach towards volunteer participation which we will comment on later.

Given the large student population in the area, and the number of colleges and universities, it is remarkable that no student or university radio station has been licensed in the area. Several campuses have closed circuit or carrier-current radio stations operating on a small scale. Dalhousie University, as the largest university, has proposed at least once to establish a broadcast radio station but the licence has not been issued. Other off-campus groups have apparently also considered radio but have been unable to raise enough money to get started and have never reached the point of being able to apply formally for a broadcast licence.

The sorts of groups which often get involved in new forms of local programming have tended to participate rather differently in Halifax-Dartmouth area than in the other urban areas we have looked at. For example, ethnic groups which usually are very active in programming on the community channel are almost non-existent here. (The one program series which is continuously produced at Dartmouth is that of the Black United Front, which is as much a social and political organization as an ethnic one.) Lack of ethnic programming on the community channel is not because of the absence of ethnic groups in the area - although that reason might apply in much of Quebec. Although non-British and non-French origin people do not form more than about 18% of the population, there are a number of ethnic groups in the area.

Instead of using the community channel, the ethnic groups have used access time provided by the private FM station, CHFX. Since 1974, the station has set aside the access time; at present, the hour between 10 p.m. and 11 p.m., six days a week, is for use by local ethnic groups on a first come, first served basis. The Multicultural Council of Halifax-Dartmouth co-ordinates the activities of ethnic groups in the area and provides a link between the radio station and the groups for use of air-time. The arrangement seems to be satisfactory from the viewpoint of the groups, although they cannot all have air-time and must rotate to allow everyone a turn. The programs are principally music with informational items about local events interspersed. As long as this air-time is made available by the FM station, it appears that most ethnic groups will be content to use it and not spend time on community programming on cable. Since 1978, some of the newer ethnic groups in the area (Italians and Arabs, for example) have shown interest in the community channel and this may result in more ethnic programming on cable TV.

Religious groups and organizations behave much as usual in using the community channel as much as they are permitted by the cable staff in each system. The Halifax system seems to have more programs organized by churches and large organizations while the Dartmouth system has several programs prepared by local individuals and non-institutional groups as well as by churches in the area.



The social action groups and media groups in the area are the ones most interesting to look at, in view of the very lively history of community action service groups, especially in Halifax. In the early 1970s, a number of social action groups, concerned with a variety of social problems in the city of Halifax, formed an umbrella organization called MOVE. The intention was to provide a focus for groups and individuals interested in citizen participation in decisions affecting the lives of local people, especially those in lower-income groups or other underprivileged sections of the community. The organization was funded primarily by the federal Departments of Urban Affairs and the Secretary of State. Any local community group could belong to MOVE provided that it was issue-oriented, self-help and non-profit.

At about the same time, Teled Video was formed by people interested in using media techniques and who were willing as an organization to provide media training, particularly video training, to local groups which had need of it. Teled Video was a separate organization from MOVE but worked with it on a number of occasions. Both organizations had their own video equipment which they sought to use as one of the means to encourage a process of social animation among sections of the city's population. The City of Halifax Social Planning Department also had video equipment of its own and staff who were interested in using the equipment for work with local social groups.

In 1972 and 1973, Teled Video and MOVE attempted to use the community channel as a medium for community action and intervened at CRTC hearings to seek Commission authorization for full access to the community channel by local groups. However, the CRTC did not respond as they hoped by requiring the cable operators to allow full access so it appears that the groups involved decided to give up on the idea of using the channel for community action. Some programs were made, particularly through the Dartmouth system, but there was not full control of the production process by the groups and they decided this was not satisfactory for their purposes.

Aside from this problem, groups such as the Nova Scotia Division of Community Planning Association of Canada and environmental concern groups are often based in Halifax but have interests in keeping contact with people all over the province. These groups have found that the community channel does not have the appropriate coverage area for their purposes and there is no regular exchange of tapes between cable operators in the province. This may be an additional reason why a number of Halifax-based social groups have not made use of the community channel. The province is relatively small and the population settled for a long time in a lot of small communities. There are clearly well-established social inter-relationships and informal information networks among communities of interest. Possibly, the over-air broadcasting media, with artificial

communications distribution systems best suited to cover large areas, are not regarded as suitable for the kinds of social communications that people usually want to have. On the other hand, because of its restricted coverage, cable TV also has drawbacks in providing a medium of communications over areas bigger than the Halifax-Dartmouth area, if a province-wide network is needed.

When Teled Video began as a media group it was formed by people particularly interested in using the media and in providing media literacy training or media services to social groups upon request. As a group, they undertook various projects in the Halifax area with funding from the federal programs such as LIP and OFY in the earlier years. However, as with all groups concentrating on video, these funds became more difficult to obtain and the group turned its attention towards funding from Canada Council as a video artists group. To obtain the funding, the group found it necessary to ally itself with the local National Film Board office. In doing this, Teled Video Services Association disappeared and Video Theatre Association emerged in its place in 1976. The National Film Board provides space and video equipment to the new organization, which receives base funding for staff and other expenses from Canada Council.

The role of the Theatre group is partially to provide a focal point for local video producers who can get contracts occasionally for production work. The Video Theatre is



primarily a video equipment centre and training centre for people in the community who wish to use video. As with all media groups, the Video Theatre staff do not encourage people to use video if that medium is judged to be inappropriate for the purpose which the people requesting help have in mind. If there is an effective use being proposed, the Video Theatre staff will provide training in the use of video equipment and in editing. Such assistance is provided free to individuals and to groups which are non-profit; government agency people, library staff or the local theatre company, for example, would all have to pay for the services.

To distribute the tapes produced, Video Theatre will help people to publicize information throughout the Maritimes, if that is appropriate, and assist them in local showings through an arrangement with the Centre for Art Tapes, which has a video viewing area. Tape distribution to places outside Halifax can also be arranged through the Video Theatre. Because of their experience with the community channel operations in Halifax and Dartmouth, and their experience in working with MOVE and other social action groups in the past, the people at Video Theatre do not seem to have any interest in using the community channel as a means of distribution locally.

Video Theatre would be more interested to use the distribution systems of the local TV stations but have found them very unwilling to accept tape or film produced by local people about

local issues. There have been several instances where people have had their material broadcast from one of the American stations in Maine which are carried on Maritime cable TV systems. The U.S. stations extend over more of the Atlantic region than do either of the Halifax stations, an irony of distribution not lost on local people. However, while cable TV service is not received by even half of the households in the region, the local stations still retain some importance in their ability to reach most people within a smaller area.

Much of the interest in video production in the Halifax area may be due to the presence of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, which has had courses in video production for about ten years. There is a small number of people in the Halifax area who consider themselves to be video artists; they try to survive on a combination of funding from Canada Council, commissioned work, and other related artistic efforts. The video artists are in the same position of fringe economic existence as are the photographers, film-makers, and other visual artists in the area who try to work outside the conventional arts institutions. Creative people whose work appears to be well-established in Nova Scotia - although not necessarily coming within the category of 'the arts' - are those involved in traditional and contemporary craft work. They live all over the province, often in the rural areas, and have well-organized associations and groups as well as official provincial government support.

For many young visual artists, the parallel gallery is their usual meeting place and focus, although the parallel gallery in Halifax excludes video from its interests. The Centre for Art Tapes is the meeting place for video artists and for showings of tapes produced locally or brought by visiting artists. The Centre for Art Tapes is also supported by Canada Council and is run by one person. The Centre coordinator is trying to discover ways to provide a better economic base for video artists and, for this purpose, the community channel on cable TV is of no value. The artists would be much more interested in the possibilities of producing material for new programming channels if these were to become accessible to them.

The students of the Art College in video courses have, on occasion, produced video tapes for showing on the community channel; to gain access, they have had to seek the co-operation of the Dartmouth programming staff because they could not obtain time through the Halifax system.

The two cable TV systems in Halifax-Dartmouth do provide an interesting contrast in approach to the operation of the community channel. The Halifax community programming staff are technical production people and have usually acted as crew for productions, not on-air people or animators in the local area trying to generate interest in new programming ideas. In Fall, 1978, the staff (other than the program director)



became members of a certified union bargaining unit and this may have the effect of further restricting the opportunity for non-staff to engage in actual production activity. The unionization of community programming staff is unusual and it is not clear why this move was sought. In the past, there has been an emphasis in the Halifax system on the need for any volunteers who wish to participate in program production to be competent on-camera or technically. If a volunteer is not thought to be competent, he can always go over to Dartmouth and try to work through the cable TV system there.

Most of the volunteers involved in programming on the Halifax system are individuals, not groups; the individuals are not usually representing groups either. They normally act as interviewers on programs intended for specific audiences such as retired people, amateur sports enthusiasts or religious groups. There are also a few institutions involved in programs, principally the local Armed Forces base which has a weekly program intended to inform local people about various aspects of the work done by base personnel. Because of the large student population in Halifax, there are programs of sports events featuring the local college and university teams, organized by the institutions concerned with the cable staff. There are also other sports programs featuring local amateur sports activities. The students themselves do not seem to be involved in any programs other than as members of the sports teams.

As far as audience response is concerned, the Halifax staff

do not expect to receive comments on the channel or its programming; the volunteers involved in programming receive some response in phone calls and conversations and they relay some of this to the staff. In determining the mix of programs to aim for, the program director and his staff are not able to use direct audience response as a criterion for decisions on whether to continue or drop a program series. Because there are requests for time from religious organizations which would fill too much of the available schedule, the churches have to share the time between on a rotational basis. Other than the religious programs, there are no time limits on categories of programming.

The Dartmouth system operates on a different basis as far as its community channel is concerned. Dartmouth tries to accommodate every volunteer who wishes to be involved in programming. This 'open door' policy is, in a way, convenient for the Halifax system because people from there can seek access in Dartmouth and it takes pressure off the Halifax community programmers. For some years, there have been people from Halifax who are involved in Dartmouth-produced programs.

The staff at Dartmouth have changed relatively little in several years so there is much greater continuity of contact with people in their service area. As long as there is room in the schedule, the Dartmouth staff try to fit in everyone's requests for programming opportunities. Many of the requests are for only one program and these can be arranged among the

the regular series. If there is increased demand for air-time, there may be rotation of some series off the channel for a time to let others have a chance.

There is an emphasis on the Dartmouth programming staff being able to work well with people from the community. Volunteers can work on the technical side of program production if they want to learn. However, the volunteers are often not available when needed for a production so the staff are usually the crew for the mobile facilities as well as in the studio. There is limited portable equipment for loan to volunteers, if they need it. Most of the volunteers are involved on-camera or in organizing program content. Some of the programming from Dartmouth is initiated by individuals with a special interest or hobby; others which are done on behalf of organizations rely heavily on one or two people to undertake the work. Some of the organizations, such as social service agencies and local government departments, have paid staff involved in the programs which are intended to provide information about their work in the local area.

For audience response to the programming, the Dartmouth staff rely on the volunteer programmers to pass along comments received by phone or in conversation. On the programs which are initiated by the staff themselves, they expect to receive some comments directly to the channel staff. The programs for Dartmouth are all taped in advance of showing so live phone-in programs are not possible to get audience response. A few



programs indicate a phone number which may be called later.

Because Dartmouth staff tape their programs on days when Halifax programs are being carried on the community channel (and vice versa), neither staffs seem to pay much attention to what the other's programs are about or how the total schedule through the week provides a diverse service the area's residents. The arrangement between Halifax and Dartmouth to share one community channel may not continue indefinitely if there are increased requests for access from the large area population. When the Metrovision system has had its community channel operating for a few more years, it may be possible to develop an exchange of tapes between the three systems for metropolitan area programming. However, there should also be the possibility of more local programs, too, for each system to its own area.

The cable TV systems in the metropolitan area may participate in the proposed networking arrangements for provision of a children's channel and multicultural channel services, if these are authorized by the CRTC. If they do participate in those or other program networks in the future, the provision of locally and regionally originated material of interest to people in the Maritimes would be invaluable not only for local viewers but also for the visual artists in the region who need to find new outlets for their work.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The place of new local programming within the broadcasting system now and in the future is the concern of this chapter. There is no doubt that local programming is being produced for community channels across the country, that community radio stations can be established in remote areas and in cities to serve various social objectives. Radio programming and TV programming is also being produced by people working for native communications societies although this is fairly unusual, except for the Alberta Native Communications Society productions in Edmonton.

How all these programming efforts and organizations are to be maintained is the problem. This really depends on answering two questions. One is how to maintain the present programming activities on existing resources. The other is how to ensure that local programming of this type is built into future broadcasting services and into future communications networks. Maybe an even more basic question is: why is it important to ensure there is a place for the development of new forms of local programming within broadcasting?

Before trying to answer these questions, we will review the activities in new forms of local programming to date. In the Introduction of this document, we gave a description of our expectations about how new local programming has got started and

how it had developed. The statements following are more specific and detailed than we could make before. There are several points on which we find we were not accurate although most of our expectations have been supported by the information we have found in the field study.

One point which we find not entirely applicable is the use of the term 'public sector' for all programming which are not supported by advertising revenues. Although this may have been the case in the past, the future programming services such as pay TV and the Telidon-type information services of the future will also not rely on direct advertising for its revenues; yet if these services are developed as profit-making ventures, then they cannot really be described as part of the public sector. However, there are possibilities for such services to be offered on a non-profit basis or by a publicly funded agency so this area of new programming services will not necessarily be only in the private sector. We will return to this topic later on.

Another point on which we now disagree with the earlier description is that most new local programming is informational. This is largely true on the community channel but it is not true on radio; the difference between the two media is due to the different costs attached to informational programming; on radio, it is cheaper to provide a program from music records.

A third point on which we find our earlier description inaccurate is the involvement of individuals in programming. In the early years, it may have been so that programming was organized by groups or people representing groups; now, on cable



TV and radio, there are significant numbers of programs which are organized by individuals who are not representing any particular organization or group. Even in the case of people working on behalf of groups, it appears we underestimated the importance of the efforts of particular individuals in the work undertaken. Groups as a whole unit do not undertake programming very often; individuals have to commit their time in order for the programs to get produced.

## REVIEW OF ACTIVITIES

To judge from the experiences of the past twelve years, proponents of the new local programming would argue that there are three main advantages in its development:

- a) the involvement of people other than professional broadcasters in the production of programs;
- b) the provision of local information and opinions from alternative sources;
- c) the opportunity for musicians and other creative people to reach a larger local audience.

These are essentially socio-cultural goals towards which the people active in new forms of local programming are trying to move, in varying degrees. Some people favour one of these goals over the others while other people try to work towards all of them.

The initiation of specific new local programming efforts has been different for cable TV compared to radio although the ideas for social usage of each medium were readily transferable in either direction if the opportunity arose. For example, those people who began with the idea of using the community channel for social animation or information dissemination could transfer that idea to the use of radio for the same purposes if a radio station became more accessible to them.

New forms of local programming, as we have described them, are principally those which are more often called community programming but they also include programs produced by organizations for broadcast on private radio and TV stations as well as

on CBC or on educational broadcasting networks. The most central characteristic of new local programming appears to us to be that the activities are conducted by non-profit organizations or by organizations as a non-profit service.

The social objectives of 'access' and 'participation' are two key concepts which have played major roles in the formation of ideas about new local programming. Ideas which have been put forward at various times are:

- 1) the democratization of the media; it is essential for people to be involved directly in the production of media content because the professional broadcasters can present only partial information and entertainment from within institutional and financial restraints.
- 2) the diversity of information and viewpoints which can be provided by people other than professional broadcasters are more wide-ranging and can allow the audience to select material of greater relevance and interest than is possible from mass audience programming.
- 3) non-commercial and non-institutional use of the airwaves and media channels provides an outlet for content which is not biassed in favour of the political and economic status quo.
- 4) participation in content production can be the electronic response to the social alienation and helplessness which have afflicted many people in society.
- 5) the opportunity for local artists to reach a wider audience; a means to democratize access to the arts as well as a means for young artists to become known to the general public.
- 6) participation in ownership of media stations and media systems would be more democratic than either private or state ownership.



- 7) public ownership of the media allows democratic participation in decisions about content and this would result in more diverse types of content.
- 8) participation in content production and training in media techniques enables people to understand the structure and intent of all kinds of media messages more objectively.

The most influential themes have been: the need to diffuse ownership and control of broadcasting beyond the commercial and government-owned institutions; the use of media to forge or strengthen social communication links; a non-commercial or even anti-commercial stance towards the use of the media within the marketing environment of North America; the need for alternative lifestyles and alternative points of view to be presented to the public; the need for media literacy among the general public.

Obviously, all these themes do not have to be confined to programming at the local level but opportunities for action did occur at the local level so they have been explored in varying ways.

The development of new forms of local programming can be regarded as a result of the fortunate coincidence of the social will, the availability of federal funding and the technical devices allowing for simplified broadcasting operations. Without the social interest in undertaking the programming, it would not have occurred. However, that interest by itself could not create the scale of development which has occurred in Canada. The most critical question now facing most people involved in the programming is this: if government funds and other subsidies are not

going to be available for operating and capital expenses, can the new local programming continue to be produced and distributed, even on the present scale? There is no simple answer to this because of differences in the situation in radio and in cable TV.

In reviewing the development of new forms of local programming to date, we note there are great differences between radio and cable TV because of different distribution areas and different types of system ownership. There are also great differences in programming techniques, of course, as there are in all radio programs as compared to video programs. Some of the differences in purposes of programming between radio and cable TV stem from the different ownership which in turn have determined the types of groups and individuals in urban areas which choose to use radio rather than cable TV, wherever possible. Between the North or mid North radio stations and those in the south, there are major differences in range of content which are due to the different levels of funding, the diversity of stations to choose from locally and differing social requirements for programming in the local context.

The characteristic which is most evident in the developments of the idea and then the reality of the radio programming is the tremendous energy and talent for cooperative work which the individual initiators have had to get started at all. In many instances, one person who had the idea, and was helped by a small group of like-minded people, had to follow the project through for several years before any radio programming could be

broadcast. Although the CRTC was willing to license certain community radio stations or non-commercial stations, each initiating group had to persuade the CRTC of their competence to hold a licence, their financial ability to pay for the technical and operational costs and to carry out a coherent programming service.

While federal aid programs were operating in the early 1970s, there was money available for the aid of the initiating group but someone had to discover which government aid they were eligible for, and apply for it in the correct manner. When a licence was granted, the CRTC regarded it as an experimental licence and made no implied or explicit guarantee of renewal of licence such as private stations (and the CBC) have enjoyed for years.

For cable TV and the community channel, the major effort was devoted in the early 1970s to ensuring there was a channel available with adequate funds for equipment and staff resources, then to acquiring the right to have programming distributed on the channel. That right was never acquired although much energy was used in various ways trying to get it. The idea of using the community channel as a medium to create or encourage social change has generally fallen by the wayside, partly because those who were most interested in that particular usage for the channel could not obtain the distribution control they needed for that purpose. There are many groups and individuals who are involved to some extent in preparing or producing programs for the community channel managed by cable TV operators. They are people



who are mostly unaware of earlier efforts to use the community channel in an interventionist social role and are, in any case, content to use the channel as a non-commercial public information medium.

As far as television is concerned, this has rarely been used as a medium to distribute new forms of local programming. The programs produced by the Alberta Native Communications Society for distribution on a few TV stations in northern Alberta and the establishment of two community access agreements by the CBC for Pond Inlet and La Ronge are different efforts to use TV stations for distribution of programs of interest to native people in those areas. The TV station at St. Jérôme is the only station owned by a community-based organization. Other TV stations do not provide opportunity for local access nor are they usually willing to purchase locally produced programs from local individuals or groups.

Following are comments on four aspects of new local programming activities which need attention now and in the future if the programming is to continue. Firstly, there are the programmers, the people directly involved in program production and distribution. Secondly, there is the funding problem. Thirdly, there is content and its orientation and direction. Lastly, there is the assessment of the audience. All these factors are, of course, inter-related and cannot be separated when dealing with any difficulties of program origination.

## The Programmers

Programmers on the community channel who are heavily involved are usually the paid staff of the cable operator; in the case of the functioning TVCs in Québec, the staff are employed by the TVC and some of that money may come from the operator. The type of people who work on staff for the cable operator depend very much on the attitudes of the operator, more than on the availability of local people suitable for the job. Some operators favour the hiring of technical people, technicians or people who have graduated from a radio-TV arts program in a technical college. In such a system where these people predominate, the practice is often for the staff to be the production crew and to have relatively little interest in the content of what is produced. The decisions of what kinds of programs to produce then fall on the program director/co-ordinator or on volunteers who may participate from the community. Participation of non-professional volunteers in programming in such a system tends to be low - even though an open-door policy may be official policy of the operator.

In other cable TV systems, the staff employed may be people who were formerly volunteers and who are more aware of how volunteers regard the community channel. Many of the cable staff are young and their skill varies widely in relating to the community they are expected to serve. A great deal of this variation is dependent on the character of the program director. He or she may have work experience in other media, have been in social

work or have come from a business background. Regardless of this prior experience - which has some effect on how the director sees the role of media in society - the most important characteristic of the director is a flexible approach to requests and demands from people in the service area and an ability to initiate program ideas which involve various segments of the local population. It is still very much a hit or miss approach to community liaison but, since some program directors have now been in this field of work for at least six years, they have come to see patterns in community response and to anticipate trouble ahead of time.

Recently, program staff have become surer of their position in the company for which they work and have developed sufficient confidence in their experience in a special field so they have stopped apologizing for producing amateur TV and emphasized instead their special qualifications in the expanding area of new programming services on cable TV. The emphasis in new services is on consumer demand and much is made of the opportunity to cater to special interests and special segments of the audience. Because of their experience in programming for small audiences and concentrating on subjects other than those covered by the mass media broadcasters, the cable programming staff, especially in the large systems, seem poised to expand their activities into new areas. It is unclear what happens to the community channel if it is only one of several for which the staff are responsible.

For the rest of programmers on cable, these are usually volunteers either as part of a group or individually. In the



earlier days, almost all volunteers represented groups or worked on behalf of groups. This may partly have been from choice but it also was encouraged by cable staff who often regarded the community to be served as best dealt with on a fractional or group basis. For example, if there was a significant ethnic minority in the area, then it was thought that the people in that minority would be satisfied with a program produced by an ethnic group which represented them. Similarly, people interested in sports would be happy with a taped sports event or a studio discussion, organized by a local amateur sports organization.

On most urban community radio stations, programming producers are almost all volunteers who are members of the organization which holds the licence. In order to be authorized to produce programs, they are often required to participate in the operation of the station, either in the routine tasks of daily functioning, fund-raising efforts or administration. For community radio stations or community access radio groups in remote or rural areas, programming is much more of a shoe-string operation, often with no full-time paid staff. In most cases, they have to rely on a few people who are paid part-time.

For social groups, ethnic groups and other voluntary organizations in urban areas involved in programming either on radio or the community channel, their expenses are almost all in time and energy, not financial cost. Institutions, such as schools, colleges, school boards, libraries, social service agencies, the YMCA/YWCA, sometimes have a staff member whose duties include

the working on program series as means of distributing information about the institution and its program of service to the public. Local government departments and services such as police and fire departments are also fairly commonly involved in interview programs. Such programs are part of the publicity procedure of such departments; they also appear on local TV stations and on radio programs for similar purposes.

Individuals with special interests in fields of study, hobbies or sports are fairly frequently involved in programs or series focussing on their specialty. The extent to which individuals are the key in program production is higher than we had originally realized. In a number of instances, individuals prepared programming officially on behalf of a group or organization but actually without any help from that group. In the actual preparation of programming, a large group is an unwieldy production unit especially if they are not trained in production. It seems easier to delegate the job to one or two people, to work with the cable or radio staff.

There is heavy reliance of new local programming in radio and cable TV on volunteers and voluntary organizations. The prominent place of amateurs has been a strong element throughout the history of development. The involvement of amateurs may be regarded as good in itself or it may be made a virtue by necessity. There are not any funding sources for community radio to allow for the employment of anything more than a small staff. In cable TV, the involvement of amateurs is considered essential

to the community character of the community channel. It also obviates the need, in that case, for payment for programming produced outside the cable operator's own studio and by other than his own paid staff.

Amateur involvement has its negative side, as well as the positive side. From the viewpoint of the general audience, the 'professional' gloss on the best commercial or institutional programming is the norm against which all programs are measured. Non-professional broadcasters can consciously resist this glossy approach or be reluctantly required to use very limited resources. In either case, the amateur production is judged amateur indeed (i.e., boring to watch or listen to) by much of the potential audience. Small audience size is a perennial discussion point for those involved in new forms of local programming.

### Funding Sources

Funding to support programming activities was already available by the time most of the new local programming initiatives got going in the early 1970s. The sources of funds, which were primarily federal government, were not intended specifically for the support of local programming efforts but they could be applied to that, either because it was 'community-oriented' as a social service or because it employed young people. It could be argued that the new local programming on radio would have gone ahead anyway without government help but it would have been a much slower development; in some places, it might never have



got off the ground. Total dependence on volunteer help and on local donations would have been extremely difficult at the start.

For the community channel, because the principal source of money remains the subscriber revenues of the cable TV operator, this source is not a government one although it is government required. The extent of the operator's costs in operating the channel and in providing human and technical resources for program production is determined by the operator, with an eye to keeping the CRTC happy. This process of encouraging the cable operator to spend more than the absolute minimum on a programming channel which earns no revenue has been slow. The CRTC has spent time over the past ten years in persuasion rather than coercion for most operators - although a few have been singled out for their non-performance. Not all systems have a programmed community channel yet but most of those still without it are small rural systems with limited revenues.

For cable TV, both capital and operating expenditures are the responsibility of the operator. The tendency has been for a newly established community channel to have heavy capital costs in the purchase or lease of studio, studio equipment, cameras, mobile vans and so on. The expenditures on personnel and on operating costs such as video tapes and studio materials tend to lag behind, especially in smaller systems.

The raising of funds to cover expenses in operating a radio station is a serious underlying problem although it relates to the degree to which the station can rely on volunteers to cover all the necessary work. The total operating funds of a community

radio station can vary widely from one to another and the determination of needed revenue has to be made locally. The more costly do not necessarily seem to be the more extravagant. Programming costs for informational programs are very much higher - maybe by a factor of ten - than costs for music programs. The emphasis which the station puts on information-gathering and the preparation of information programs will be reflected in the budgets for the operation of the station.

As long as federal funds were available for paying personnel on a project basis, the need to match expenditures with locally raised revenues was not strongly felt. Now, however, the situation is very different and, for most radio groups, the need is pressing to either cut staff or to increase revenues from local sources, sometimes both. This is less true in Québec where there is a program of aid for community radio but the provincial grants are not intended to cover the total annual budget of a radio station. While trying to cut back on expenses, stations and groups are also trying to preserve the programming policies they started out with.

Capital costs may be a more intractable problem than operating costs in the long term, for radio stations. In the original establishment of a radio station, special efforts have to be made to raise sufficient money for engineering studies, transmitter equipment, and related equipment for studio and program productions. After the station has begun, the capital costs may be fairly low for some time but the problem arises when the transmitter has to be replaced or repaired or there are other costly

technical adjustments which have to be made. Normal funding each year does not contain allowance for extraordinary expenses of this kind and more than one station has almost foundered on the difficulties resulting from defective transmission equipment.

Special recognition of the nature and size of technical expenses is needed for radio licensees to be able to operate without trouble of this kind. Interruption of the radio signal creates problems which should be avoided if at all possible; there is a loss of regular audience who may think the station has gone for good and complaints come from the licensing authority about the inefficient usage of a scarce radio frequency allocated for radio broadcasting distribution.

The use of advertising revenue to cover operating expenses which have outstripped the amount of membership fees and local donations has its own problems and drawbacks. For those stations which have been skating near the edge of the CRTC-established limits on commercial advertising by non-commercial stations, the choice becomes either to opt for a fully commercial station or to cut back on programming and staff expenses. Neither alternative is attractive to them. In the case of radio stations established by students (such as Carleton University and the University of Manitoba), they have run into this problem and have had to cut back on the amount and type of advertising content they carry. The option of becoming commercial stations is not open to them since they are based on university property.

The organizational structure of a group involved in programming affects its funding basis. The organization which are radio



licensees generally are non-profit societies or corporations; some are co-operatives and some are charitable corporations. The particular format selected depends in part on what is permissible in a province or territory and partly on the social orientation of the founding group. Most of the media groups still in existence as community radio access associations or video groups are also non-profit organizations of some type.

Seeking charitable status for the organization from the federal National Revenue Department does not seem to be an invariable practice. The rules for qualifying for charitable status are fairly straightforward and most of the non-profit societies and corporations should be able to meet the requirements yet many have not applied. The advantage of charitable status lies in the tax-free status of the organization and in the potentially greater donations which might be raised from corporations and individuals which can deduct the donations from their taxable income.

The co-operative ideal, as we have seen, has been put into practice in only a few places, principally because provincial statutes governing registration of co-operatives do not allow for co-operatives which operate broadcasting stations; cable TV or closed circuit systems would be eligible. For Vancouver Co-operative Radio, it became necessary to set up a separate non-profit organization so as to have charitable status for the purpose of receiving donations.

## Programming Content

Much of the programming on cable TV is informational content. Much of it is an interview format and is tied fairly closely to events or people in the local area. Some music or entertainment programs are prepared but they are in the minority, mainly because of the complexity of program taping required for many events which could be recorded. Many cable TV systems do not have the ability to distribute a live program from anywhere other than their own studio. Recording of events elsewhere often involves problems of low lighting levels and poor sound quality which also discourage the showing of events live.

On radio, while much of the content can be music, as it is on most radio stations, there is a strong element of information in almost all programs. Depending on the resources of the station, the entire program can be informational or in documentary-style. In many stations, however, reliance has to be on music because that is the cheapest to provide.

The orientation of the programming on cable or radio towards 'alternate' service for the area is quite strong. For some, especially the cable staff, this means programming on any subject rarely covered by the local TV stations. That can include things such as municipal council meetings (a staple of most community channels) and local sports matches, especially of sports not in major popularity or from high schools. For other people programming on cable TV, it may mean taking a social service orientation or a non-commercial stance and covering events or

describing local issues in those terms. For a few others, it means taking an anti-commercial or anti-mass media position and attempting to counter the practices and techniques of mass programming with messages of other life-styles and perspectives. These types of programs are the least numerous now on community channels although they were the ones most hoped for by media groups and social action groups in the early 1970s.

Some of this anti-commercial and non-mass programming approach is apparent on urban community radio stations which see themselves as catering to those people who are offended by the commercial values of programs on conventional broadcasting stations. They also tend to concentrate heavily on programs for minority groups within the area who do not have any programs designed for their interest on other local stations. For community radio in less populated areas, programs produced are often the only local programs and they are intended mostly for general information and entertainment.

Producing programs for special interests in the area has created problems for urban community radio. If they specialize too much, they risk having extremely small audiences and extremely low membership. They also have the problem of responding to requests for programs which are not of general interest and, thus, never being listened to by members of the general public. The minority character of much of their programming makes it difficult to justify any community-wide service goals. Arguments that the conventional media already provide service to the majority and that community media are justified to focus on the



minorities unserved make it difficult to avoid a piecemeal approach to scheduling. Since most people have grown accustomed, in listening to private radio, that the schedule maintains the same character throughout the day, it is difficult to make them aware of the possibility of tuning to community radio for specific programs. Some Canadians use CBC radio services in this way but they are still a minority of the potential audience.

From the recent CRTC survey of the community channel, it appears that most of the programming can be described as of general interest, not special interest. The cable staff seem to produce programs that are mostly of community-wide interest; those people who volunteer for production of particular topics are more likely to be responsible for developing content for programs of minority interest or special interest.

### Audience Assessment

The audience for new local programming is a most problematic definition, on radio, cable TV and television. Community radio stations and cable TV licensees do not normally spend time, money or energy on discovering much about the audience for particular programs or the general audience for the channel or station. The usual approach has been that, since numbers are not important, there is little point in studying the market ratings for their programming. That may be so in general terms but not in detail because, if actual numbers are not important, the audience response certainly is. Radio and cable TV programmers rely on

comments from people who phone in or write letters as general indicators of audience appreciation. As long as negative comments are not received, the programming is presumed to be acceptable to the audience, even if they do not know acceptable in what way.

The relationship between the audience and the programmer remains enigmatic except in the few cases where the programmer group has gone to the trouble to explore what the audience has picked out from particular programs and what their responses were to different aspects of the production. The purposes for which programs are produced are numerous and often multiple. Without audience research, programmers really have no idea if any of the purposes are within reach of being achieved. In establishing the community radio station, the licensee organization has had to be very clear on general objectives of the programming effort. Specific program series may be developed by the organization to meet these general goals but not designed with any particular audience in mind other than maybe the members of the organization. Since funding for the program, and indeed for the station, has not depended on direct audience response, this fine tuning of programs has been unnecessary.

The need for audience research may be an academic exercise in small Northern communities, where everyone is known to everyone else. In urban areas, however, where the radio stations are going to have to relate more closely to their audience and membership fee revenues, the need is different. It will become more urgent to consider ways of integrating audience response

into the mechanisms used to determine program formats and series. Normally, members of the organization have been encouraged to be active in the organizational decisions. However, if they encourage the membership numbers to grow, in response to fund-raising drives and efforts to recruit new members, so as to increase local revenue, there will be a need to find better ways of determining audience response.

For cable TV, the measurement of audience is usually avoided by cable TV operators possibly because they would rather not know how low the audience numbers are. The case has always been made by operators that, since they are not allowed to advertise on the community channel, then all expenses are essentially a loss to the company. Size of audience has no effect on the cost of operating the channel. However, operators as licensees have become very aware that the CRTC has taken a dim view of those who do not spend money on adequate facilities for the community channel - although that does not provide any method for determining the function which the community channel has in the area's communication exchanges. For audience response, operators and their staff are happy to rely on phone calls (either to them or to volunteer programmers), on-air or at other times, as an adequate indication of audience reaction. Most people who phone are favourably disposed so this makes the staff fairly sure they are meeting the licence requirements for operation of the community channel. Volunteers who are involved either individually or as a group in programming rely very much on comments from viewers who saw their program and they are



often satisfied with one or two responses.

The general approach to audience assessment has been that the size is really irrelevant; it is the type of the audience response which matters. A great deal of emphasis has been placed on the seeking of active audience response and in providing programming for special interests within the general audience. Since total numbers or percentages of potential audience have little or no direct effect on the revenues of the new local programming entities, the argument goes that audience size should not be bothered about. The focus then becomes a matter of educating the public to the idea of active response rather than being a passive viewer or listener. However, this is directly counter to the reception habits developed over fifty years in radio and about half that in television so it is an uphill struggle. It is doubtful if, after about ten years, much progress has been made in reaching the majority of the public with this idea. Broadcasting is still regarded by most Canadians as a source of popular entertainment, with newscasts or information at intervals.

#### Recommendations for Maintenance

In considering ways to strengthen the existing local programming activities, we are conscious that there are many areas where the activities do not take place. We resist the urge to insist that every area should have new local programming introduced as soon as possible. There has to be room for local variation in

this, as in all other social activities. The functioning of social relationships in a small community may be such that people would like to use the community channel of the cable TV system as a community meeting place. If there is no cable system, they can probably manage very well without it. Alternatively, the effort to start and run a community radio station may be thought to be too much trouble for little improvement in community life. However, people need to have information about what others have done in new local programming before they can decide on what their own course of action should be.

Basically, there is a need for people to be aware of the possibilities for local action in broadcasting and about how these activities in local programming can be organized. If they choose then to become involved or not, that is their option. One of the purposes of this document is to provide information about what has been done in different areas of the country. Also, a number of useful books and articles about community programming are listed in the bibliography.

Practical information about how to set up a community radio station and how to go about producing video or audio programs for local distribution is becoming more available from printed material. The CRTC has produced some papers and booklets on community programming which are available from the Commission. However, printed material does become out-dated rather quickly in this field of activity and the organization of personal contact networks is an even more valuable resource. There have been tentative attempts to organize associations across the

country or in particular regions; it seems to us that regional associations, formal or informal, are going to be more useful at this stage of development than nation-wide associations for the purpose of information exchange between people involved in programming. This is partly because it is easier to keep up regional contacts and also because social conditions are different from one region to another. Also, if provinces and territories do become more involved in providing aid to local programming organizations or in being interested in regulatory aspects of communications systems, including cable TV, there will be an increased need for people to be informed of the governmental decisions which affect local programming efforts in their own area.

For the maintenance of community radio stations and community access radio associations, there is a funding problem for these organizations which is more immediate and more severe than for groups working in video. For radio licensees, there is a strong need for contingency funds to be made available to allow them to obtain capital funds when they are needed to replace essential transmission equipment. The funds could be in the form of a government-guaranteed loan, which could be paid back in stages over future years. A better arrangement might be the provision of a capital grants scheme which would accept applications for funds by established radio stations for this purpose only. Operating funds would have to come from other sources. For capital funds needed to get a radio station started, there could be a system of matching grants, possibly weighted in favour of the



local group so that if they raised \$1 locally the capital grant fund would provide them with \$3, up to a specified limit. In that way, capital costs would be greatly reduced for a new group trying to get started. From our viewpoint, it does not matter whether the funds are made available at the provincial or territorial level (as they are now in Québec and N.W.T.) or at the federal level. As the provincial and territorial governments take more interest in this subject, they may become more willing to provide funds for organizations involved in programming; if not, the federal government could make funds available.

Provision of capital funds is one concern for radio groups; the other is the availability of radio frequencies for allocation to local applicants of the non-commercial type. People with little technical knowledge, and no experience of the regulatory procedures which have to be followed in getting a radio frequency assigned for their use, get very confused about this problem. The differences between low-power FM, SCMO and closed-circuit FM and so on, mean very little to them, except that they provide limited coverage to reach the majority of people who might form part of their audience. All of these distribution arrangements, in any case, are attempts to compensate for the lack of allocation of frequencies on AM and FM for non-commercial use in Canada.

Most community radio stations are using low power FM transmission which is adequate to cover small areas. However, there are drawbacks to using low power FM. For example, in the North the settlements may be small but the land area where people may need or wish to receive the radio signal is often very large.

A low power FM station which can be received only in the settlement cannot provide a link for people on the land. Low power FM in urban areas limits the range of signal so that carriage on cable TV systems is the only way to provide the signal throughout the urban area. But no-one knows if people have a cable radio hook-up nor do they know how many people regularly listen to radio by that system. Over-air, the low power FM signal is often difficult to pick up on a normal radio set amongst the much stronger commercial and CBC signals.

Until all Canadian radio signals are carried only on cable or other non-broadcast means, there must be assurance that non-commercial stations have equal rights to clear frequencies and wide coverage areas, if that is what they want; these should not be reserved for commercial and CBC use only, with non-commercial use added as an afterthought. If recognition is given by the CRTC and the federal Department of Communications of the need to accommodate requests for non-commercial radio stations in more and more areas, they must devise a method whereby over-air frequencies are readily available for this purpose; in addition to allocating frequencies in less populated areas, attention must be given to an equitable assignment of frequencies in densely populated areas where more than one community, campus or non-commercial station could exist to provide a program service to different geographic areas or different segments of population.

The greatest need at the present in both cable TV and radio is for information about audiences for new local programming. The programmers and the policy-makers need to have better understanding of what people get out of these programs and how the

programs offered could be designed to reach specific audiences or specific socio-cultural goals. In the case of radio, if the stations are going to have to survive mainly or totally on audience support, they must discover ways of relating what the active members of the station wish to produce and what kind of audience response they hope to get. Very few stations or programming groups of any kind in cable TV and radio have been able to afford to undertake audience research of the kind which would be useful to them. This is also true of native communications societies which engage in some broadcast programming. It would help those considering doing radio or TV programs to know if such programs would achieve the goals they have in mind.

As far as the community channel on cable TV is concerned, this channel is theoretically available for the carriage of programming produced by people in most cabled areas. The access to the channel is determined largely by access to production equipment for video programming; very few groups or organizations have their own video equipment which can be used to prepare tapes for showing on the channel. Most people depend on being able to use the equipment owned by the cable TV operator; the availability and the range of equipment varies widely from one system to the next. In cable TV, the provision of other programming services on additional channels in the future will be the equivalent of adding new private radio stations with no allocation of frequencies for non-commercial use. The access of non-professional programmers to cable TV channels other than the community channel is rarely available at present. The developments of the future are the most important aspects of local programming on cable TV.



## THE BROADCASTING SYSTEM

The rapid development of activities in new local programming has been remarkable in the past ten years in Canada. The stimulus provided by government grants and regulation has been a major influence on the scale of the programming activities. If those benevolent aids to development are not going to be present in the future, does the production of new forms of local programming, especially in radio and cable TV, have a dim future? Various support mechanisms can be suggested so that the new forms of local programming can be sustained at least at the present level of activity. But, before suggesting what those mechanisms might be, we have to answer the most crucial question. Why should new local broadcast programming be supported and developed within the Canadian broadcasting system? This is an extraordinarily difficult question to answer with precision.

From this study, we have made some statements about how and why the new forms of local programming have developed in certain places. These statements are necessarily tentative because they are based on the experiences of people in only a few areas and they rely on the comments of the people involved about what they have been doing. The development of new forms of local programming in areas we did not study may prove to be different than those we have studied.

The decisions of particular individuals to initiate, and organize local support to work on, new local programming for broadcasting are the most important factors we found to explain

why activities may differ from one area to another. There are several decisions which appear to determine the initiation of local programming efforts by local people, the most basic of which is a decision to use broadcasting media (instead of or as well as other media and other methods of social contact) as one appropriate method to reach whatever social or cultural ends they have selected to pursue. In some areas, they may decide that use of the broadcasting media is inappropriate to their goals.

The accessibility of the local elements of the broadcasting systems to local people is largely determined by the licensees and the regulatory authority; attitudes to and knowledge of how these decision-makers might be influenced in favour of access and participation appear to vary from one place to another. Personal contact between interested people of different communities has been and remains important in spreading information about how to gain access to the media systems in various situations.

Numerous goals for the new local programming have been put forward by different people, mostly centred on social or cultural objectives relevant to the area where they live. Participation in, or access to, the media systems is very important because it allows the creation of content other than that normally produced by professional broadcasters and program producers, either in commercial broadcasting or in the public broadcasting corporations. The opportunity for 'other voices' to be heard by the public must be a major objective in a

democracy but it also has great significance as a socio-cultural objective of enhancing human communication.

We want to make clear the difference in meaning we have attached to the words 'communication' (as in human communication) and 'communications' (as in communications system). For us, the word 'communication' refers to all types of human exchange such as conversation, which involve no mechanical or technical device to mediate the messages between the people involved. 'Communications' on the other hand, refers to the technical systems such as broadcasting which are designed to convey certain kinds of content to or from people, sometimes both. Technical systems which impose the least restraint on the people at each end about the kinds of messages they can send may be regarded as the most 'convivial', in Ivan Illich's terms. The telephone and the postal systems are the best-known examples of convivial communications technology. Broadcasting, however, is not convivial as presently used.

It is commonplace to say that it has become more difficult for communication exchanges to occur between people in an industrialized society. People in large cities, people who are physically remote from the majority of the society or who are isolated by membership in a distinct minority group in society, can all feel alienated from the society to which they are supposed to belong. The causes of alienation are many and complex; they have been examined and described by many writers from perspectives of various academic disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, especially in psychology and sociology. The



reduction of feelings of alienation is assumed to result when there is an increase in, or improvement of, human communication between individuals and within society as a whole. How this improvement is to occur is the subject of debate.

It is tempting for people to look to technical communications systems as the solution to any 'communication gap' which they believe exists. Whenever broadcasting, as one type of system, is described as the answer to any social communication problem, they must be extremely cautious of accepting this assumption at face value. The idea of technical systems substituting for, or even enhancing, face-to-face direct communication between people is one that is frequently discussed. However, the systems which have been invented so far, especially in broadcasting, are poor substitutes for direct human exchanges.

Basically, broadcasting is a poor substitute because it is a one-way transmission medium whereas a conversation is a two-way exchange. Furthermore, the transmission or distribution networks which have been installed to carry broadcasting signals, and the mechanisms for collecting and distributing programming throughout the networks, are organized in a strongly hierarchical way with little opportunity for origination of signals or content from different points for a whole network. Control over the networks is centralized both economically and politically. The majority of the content of the broadcasting systems is programming which contains strong images and values from the commercial, popular culture of the prevailing economic system of North America; there is often very little difference between

the cultural orientation of the programs themselves and the advertising messages which are interposed between them. The commercialization of broadcasting generally in North America for the purpose of increasing sales of consumer goods has made it much more difficult for any broadcasting station to be used for carrying content which is not commercial or commercialized.

In Canada, in addition to - or perhaps because of - the commercial environment of broadcasting, there have been conscious efforts to impose political priorities for Canadian sovereignty over the communications systems inside our borders. Because the commercial marketing structure of North America is dominated by the United States, it is axiomatic in Canada that there cannot be a free market for broadcasting licences in Canada. Without domestic political controls, there would be American ownership or control over most broadcasting stations in Canada. A number of restraints and requirements have been imposed in Canada for the assertion of Canadian sovereignty over the broadcasting media.

The requirements are such things as the establishment of the CBC to provide a publicly-funded national broadcasting service in both official languages, the imposition of Canadian content regulations, the requirement of 80% Canadian ownership of broadcast licensees, and the extension of service by Canadian networks to as many Canadians as possible.

Given all these restraints of economic and political orientation in broadcasting systems in Canada, it becomes difficult for us to see how broadcasting can be regarded as the best means

for achieving social and cultural goals of communication exchange between people or even as affirmation of social group cohesion.

We might be tempted to describe the development of new forms of local programming by people outside the conventional system as an attempt to humanize the broadcasting system in Canada. It is certainly an interesting effort to use the technical system for human interaction towards the socio-cultural goals of conviviality or strengthening cultural identity at the local level. Participants are not so naive as to imagine that broadcasting can substitute for other local contacts and meetings towards the same ends. If the system - or part of it, like the community channel - is offered for use, there is every reason to expect that some people will make use of it if they can see any advantage in that use.

So, the new local programming activities could perhaps be described as one way in which broadcasting may be used towards socio-cultural objectives of individuals and groups in their own community. There may be other ways in which social and cultural objectives in Canadian society can be sought through the broadcasting system but, so far, those have eluded implementation.

The reason for this, it seems to us, is that the total system of broadcasting in Canada is so strongly oriented towards commercial and political goals. The cultural or social goals which may be listed in broadcasting policy get distorted or put aside by the stronger economic and political pressures at work. This is our observation from the perspective of local programming



and it seems to be true at all levels of programming. This is why we argue here, as we did in Chapter II, that there is a need to re-examine the objectives of Canadian broadcasting which are listed in section 3 of the Broadcasting Act. In particular, the mandate of the CBC needs to be re-assessed in light of the fact that the Corporation has to function in a highly commercial environment and has to give priority in its limited budget to matters related to political sovereignty and political unity. The evidence to illustrate the seriousness of this situation is clear in the information produced by the CBC and the CRTC for the 1974 and 1978 Public Hearings and Decisions on the CBC network licence renewals.

In the case of local programming, it has been possible for some people to initiate and develop new forms of programming which they have undertaken for a variety of social and cultural reasons. However, it is not an ideal relationship between new local programming and the content of the conventional stations and channels. The new local programming is, in many ways, a fringe activity in the broadcasting services available at the local level. The reason for this is because the socio-cultural objectives are not recognized within the whole system (its owners and regulators) as having equal status with economic and political goals. It is our contention that, unless the socio-cultural objectives can be given higher priority in the total system, then the Canadian broadcasting system will fail dismally to meet the goals set by the Broadcasting Act. It will have failed also to provide a fair opportunity for local programming to

be developed by people in Canada in accordance with their own locally determined and locally appropriate objectives. (We refer to these objectives as socio-cultural because social and cultural purposes are closely intertwined and also because what is called a cultural objective in Quebec is often described as a social objective somewhere else in Canada.)

In Canada generally, the cultural uses of broadcasting are extremely important from two main perspectives. The first perspective is concern about how to encourage the development of Canadian cultural expression through the direction of broadcasting institutions. The second perspective has to do with the cultural context within which an individual might use the broadcasting media for information or entertainment. The former perspective has more to do with cultural policy and government action, the latter with community life.

### Cultural Policy

The relationship between cultural evolution of Canadian society and the development of broadcasting service is a particularly difficult one to discover. Although there have been many statements from politicians and policy-makers, sometimes also from businessmen and other broadcasters, about the importance of broadcasting for cultural purposes in Canada, this is not how the broadcasting system has been used. If broadcasting is regarded as a distribution system with no inherent content of its own, what it distributes can come from whatever source is

most easily available. Using broadcasting as a cultural weapon in Canada's defence from outside influence is wishful thinking if most of the content carried comes from outside Canada.

Despite much discussion about Canadian culture and the need for a national cultural policy, the relationship between cultural life and Canadian society in general is not well articulated. The cultural environment in each region of the country is poorly understood or explained to those outside the region. The process by which the cultural works of Canadians from all regions can contribute to the development of cultural institutions is unclear. Furthermore, the way in which broadcasting content evolves from the cultural artistic productions is rarely discussed.

Canadian artists work in a very insecure cultural ambience and have to establish their own creative idioms in the midst of immensely strong cultural influences from other countries, mainly from the United States, France and Britain. Because broadcasting is so widely developed to distribute content throughout Canada, and because it is possible to exert economic and political control over the systems within Canadian borders, it is tempting to think of broadcasting as the ideal element to encourage cultural growth in Canada.

The idea that broadcasting systems can be directed towards cultural goals of development of cultural expression in the Canadian context is fairly widespread. How do we know that broadcasting will enhance Canadian culture? We don't know with any certainty if it can. Cultural activities in the arts -



dance, music, theatre, literature and the visual arts - are still developing in Canada. Can a technical distribution system substitute for lack of development in these basic areas? The argument could be made that Canadians should concentrate firstly on the arts and not on broadcasting until the arts are more fully developed. However, for political reasons this is unacceptable because broadcast content would probably remain almost entirely American in the interim.

Meanwhile, despite Canadian content regulations, American program content predominates on most radio and television stations. The CRTC and other policy-makers have concentrated on the problems of economic cost attached to Canadian content quotas and on the political priority of extension of the distribution networks to as many Canadians as possible. In doing so, they have had to pay some attention to the rationale for directing the development of broadcasting towards the goal of cultural sovereignty. They have paid rather little attention to the cultural context of broadcasting from the viewpoint of the individual Canadian - and to the very important relationship between communication and community.

The difference between those two approaches to the relationship between culture and communications could perhaps be epitomized in two alternative perceptions of communication. As James Carey\* points out, North American perceptions of communication

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\* J.W. Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication", Communication, Vol. 2 (1975), pp. 1-22.

are dominated by the view that it is "a process whereby messages are transmitted and distributed in space for the control of distance and people". This perception is applied to human communication as well as to technical systems.

An alternative perception treats communication as a socio-cultural process involving sharing and commonality of experience. Carey calls it a ritual process; as he points out, the central role of cultural exchange and cultural or social values in the ordering of daily life can be taken into account through this second perception. A cultural approach to communication provides a way to look at broadcasting at the local level. Communication for the individual person is carried on at the local level in daily activities of conversation, information exchange, entertaining and being entertained. As part of the communication exchanges in daily life, reception of broadcasting and participation in programming activities could be considered within a cultural context at the community level.

### Communication and Community Life

There is a great deal we want to know about the relationship between communication exchanges and community life. What we have to say here is conjectural; we would like to have evidence to support these statements but the necessary research has not been done yet. There are many studies which explore the sociological aspects of community and there are studies

which refer to the development of individual personality. However, there is a dearth of work which would elaborate on the relationship which media content has to the social development of individuals within their own community. Until we have better information about this relationship, any assumptions that are made about the effects or potential effects of broadcast programming in the formation of attitudes or values of individuals in particular communities has to be conjectural. This is an extremely important field of research, one which we hope will be pursued by policy-makers and academic and consultant researchers in the near future. A better understanding of the use to which people put the media content they receive would be of enormous benefit in Canada particularly because cultural development, and by extension social development, in this country can best be encouraged through broadcasting when we have that understanding.

In the meantime, we put forward the following statements as possibly correct, pending later verification through theoretical and empirical research efforts.

Interpersonal communication, a sense of community with family and friends, is the most important influence on individual attitudes and values. The cultural values and identity which an individual has depends on the version of reality he accepts and that depends in large measure on the social experiences he has derived from community life. Experience of life at the community level cannot be detached from the way in which people use the content of the broadcasting media. Different individuals, different groups of people and different communities inevitably will



hold different views of reality.

Different views of reality take expression in language and in various cultural symbol systems - such as art, science and religion - and some of these find their way into the content of broadcasting. However, since people start from different views of reality and different value systems, much of the programming they receive will not coincide with their own particular views. The need for diversity of sources for content can be argued on social democratic grounds of allowing everyone a chance to participate but it makes excellent sense of the ground of providing opportunity for the expression of a wider range of cultural values and perspectives than we would ever receive from one source. The more that programming content can take account of different views of reality and different social experiences at the level of daily life, then the better able it would be to allow the audience members as individuals to strengthen their own sense of identity.

If the view of reality projected by the broadcasting media is so objectionable to an individual, he can either 'tune out' - which most of us do quite a lot anyway - or he can seek ways to change the programs broadcast. The strongest remedy is to produce and broadcast his own programs, which he and like-minded people can enjoy.

The development of the 'community media' in various forms over the past fifteen years in Canada is a phenomenon which is best understood in this socio-cultural context. As part of the content of a technical distribution system, the new local program-

ming is not merely a socially or culturally interesting thing to produce. Its development is best described as an attempt to adapt the technical system towards the achievement of socio-cultural goals defined at the local level. It is not an accident that the new forms of programming are local; the community context is very important in encouraging people to define what social or cultural reality they were trying to project which would mean something to people in the community to which they belong.

Those who have emphasized the significance of community-level communication and the need to improve the communications systems at the local level have been responding to problems they see in life at the community level. For example, the effort in northern Canada to use technical systems of communications to reduce the physical and social isolation of people in small communities was a response to an obvious lack of communication. However, broadcasting service has not been designed technically to provide a method whereby a community could use the technical system for intra-community or inter-community exchanges. At present, we suggest that the community life and the sense of identity which most people develop at the local level are relatively untouched by the broadcasting system. The socio-cultural goals of community cohesion and of enhancing a sense of identity are unrelated to the political-economic goals of the broadcasting system.

The activities of people involved in producing and distributing the new forms of local programming may be the first sign

of a real possibility for change in the orientation of broadcasting in Canada towards social and cultural goals. However, we need to find out a great deal more about how people use the content of the media available to them and how this relates to the social and cultural contexts of their daily lives.



## LOCAL PROGRAMMING IN FUTURE SERVICES?

The broadcasting services now available to Canadians are going to be changed in several major ways in the near future. We have no opportunity to predict how these changes will take place but we would like to point out how the new services can be regarded from the viewpoint of local program origination. The four services we will refer to are: (1) pay TV; (2) satellite network channels; (3) special interest programming services; and (4) tele-information services. Let us emphasize first of all that the introduction of future services is being urged for economic and political reasons and has not been urged by people for social or cultural reasons. In most instances the programming services are planned for urban areas only although distribution may extend to rural areas in some cases.

Pay television service has been on the verge of introduction in Canada for at least three years but its development has been postponed by regulatory agency concerns of how Canadian content could be given priority in the channel or channels of pay TV provided. Because of the priority which will be given to concentrating financial resources for Canadian productions so as to allow them to stand comparison with imported American productions - probably mostly Hollywood films - there is an assumption that there will be only one pay TV network service offered to Canadian customers in each

official language. Although independent producers will probably have the opportunity to sell their productions to the network organizers, this will be a limited opportunity for a few producers each year. If the pay TV service is highly profitable (and this is not assured despite the experience of the U.S. pay TV service), then more funds may be assigned for purchase of Canadian productions than is now forecast realistically. Where are the Canadian producers to come from and what types of content will they be interested in? It is likely they will be the current film-makers and film-producers in Canada along with a few independent production companies which have worked with video and film; the film produced will be for theatrical release as well as pay TV showing, possibly with an eye to the U.S. market as well. It is very unlikely that there will be any local programming in pay TV, or indeed any local variation in the programming provided from one distribution point. The use of satellite channels to carry the English language pay TV service to various regions of the country will rely on originating the service from Toronto; a French language pay TV service would undoubtedly originate from Montreal.

Satellite-fed or satellite-linked communications networks of TV programming are increasingly being considered in Canada, not just for pay TV but for other programming as well. The main impetus for this consideration is the proliferation of

satellite usage in the U.S. for distribution of pay TV, sports programming and religious programming networks, and signals of so-called 'super-stations' which have been independent local stations until recently. Because the U.S. domestic communications satellites have the same technical design as the Anik satellites in Canada, the earth receiving dish required for picking up signals from the U.S. satellites is the same as for signal pick-up from the Canadian satellites. Although the use of a Canadian earth receiving station to pick up signals from an American satellite is illegal, it is not easily preventable by the Canadian government. Any earth receiving station which is authorized for reception of Anik satellite signals needs only a minor adjustment of physical orientation to pick up other unauthorized signals. The recent opening up of ownership of earth receiving dishes to broadcasting licensees and others besides Telesat Canada itself has increased the possibility of people receiving U.S. originated signals in preference to Canadian originated ones. Actually, there was illicit ownership of earth stations in some Northern communities and the new ownership policy of the DOC was intended to deal with that situation. It has not stopped the temptation of re-orienting the satellite dish, though. Until there is a range of signals from Canadian satellites to choose from, there is a strong possibility of people seeking ways to receive signals from American satellites, especially in the Western N.W.T. and Yukon, near the Alaska border.



The use of satellite distribution to extend coverage of TV networks is not a new idea in Canada because the CBC has been using it to provide TV service to Northern communities since 1973. However, as we have observed, this is an all-or-nothing type of distribution system. Because of higher financial costs associated with providing transmission facilities, there is a strong economic incentive to concentrate all the sending of up-link signals from one point while there may be a large number of places where there are receive-only facilities. So far, the Canadian satellite link has been a highly centralized form of distribution, inflexible for the development of regional or local programming except by switching off the satellite signal's reception.

By using satellite distribution of TV programming, the Canadian broadcasting system will be increasing the extent of TV network coverage and ensuring that all Canadians receive the same programming. For political reasons, it may be advantageous to extend the reception of a few TV networks to all Canadians; for social or cultural reasons, it will be disadvantageous because it goes directly against the need to offer increased diversity in broadcasting content and source. As one example, for people in rural and remote areas, it increases their dependence on urban networks and reduces further any chance of developing regional programming. Also, if they want any local content, they will have to produce it themselves.

New programming services in cable TV are being actively considered by cable TV operators - as well as the pay TV service the major operators have been interested in for at least six years. The new services might be special interest programming either for business use or for use in the home. Channels of children's programming and multicultural programming already are being provided on a small scale by a few cable TV operators and plans are afoot to extend the offering to many cable TV systems across the country. Again, satellite linkage would be used to distribute the content of the channel. Because of that, the content will probably not vary from one area of the country to another. Differences in regional ethnicity or even in the existing provision of programs for children in each region would have to be ignored in developing one channel-full of content suitable for all. Again, possibilities for diversity would be lost. Although there is no rule to say that local cable TV operators could not produce their own content for inclusion in the appropriate channel, there will be no need to do so if a complete package is provided from elsewhere. There may, thus, be no opportunity for local organizations (interested in, for example, children and television programs for children) to participate in the development of programming for children in their area. There may not either be any opportunity for local producers to contract for programs especially designed for the special channels and receive payment for their work.

At present, the children's channel and multi-cultural channel idea is limited to the provision of channels as part of a number of channels available through the converter service of cable TV. No specific payment for each additional channel can be levied by the operator on his subscribers. However, in the future, permission may be granted for the provision of individual fees for specific special interest program channels, either on cable TV or via some other closed circuit distribution system. If that should come about, the necessity of dividing responsibility for distribution from responsibility for content is paramount. Because distribution would be controlled by a monopoly operator, there must be free access for others to have the content they produce shown on the appropriate channel. This division of distribution and content is often referred to as the content-carriage split. How this division of responsibility is implemented is not our present concern. The concern here is on who can be involved in production and selection of content for distribution. It seems to us that people should have an opportunity to participate in one or more of three different ways: (a) as 'amateurs', people who are volunteering their time as they do now on the community channel; (b) as artists and creative people interested in reaching a wider public; and (c) as independent producers or entrepreneurs who want to make money in the provision of content.



At the present time, in the community channel, volunteers can have a place but there is no room for people who have an artistic or commercial interest in producing programs locally which would be of interest to people in their area. In the future, if new programming services are organized on a commercial basis by the cable TV operators, the volunteers or non-profit programmers could find themselves excluded from participating in the kinds of programs they are really interested in because there is no room for them in a commercial context. Even in that context, the independent producers will have trouble making their mark if program purchases are centralized to one place.

The key to providing opportunity for people to be involved in these different ways is in having different mechanisms for access to channels. The assumption is that there will be many channels available for use. One mechanism would be free access for amateur programmers; the regulatory agency is going to have to grapple with the problem of allowing unrestricted access to channels for community usage and with how these channels might be allocated between geographic areas and areas of interest or concern. Restricting volunteers to the community channel while all other channels of special interest are reserved for producers of commercial programming would be a severe distortion of community interests. The community channel would then be limited even more to general interest topics while the people

interested in special topics would have no opportunity to participate locally in the selection or production of those kinds of programs.

For artists interested in using channels to reach people interested in cultural activities and cultural development, they may hope to be paid for their productions - as they might be in an art gallery exhibition, for example. The position of video artists and other visual artists in relationship to TV distribution is hopeless at present. They want to be able to use the distribution system for non-commercial purposes; they can have such an opportunity only if the channels are assigned. If they wish to obtain a paying audience for their productions, then they would have to compete for customers, as would the independent producers mentioned earlier. This is actually a broad category because it would include production companies which now make documentaries, commercial films and video productions as well as individual film-makers who want to try to reach an audience who pays directly for watching the productions. The independent producers would be willing to stand or fall on the basis of the popularity of the content. The idea of being able to recover costs of production from showings to small audiences who pay directly for the show is very attractive, a good substitute for the film theatre receipts which Canadian film-makers have great difficulty in obtaining in Canadian theatres. However, let us note that broadcasting

or broadcast-type channels cannot be expected to be designed to compensate for all the commercial, structural, or social lacks in other areas of Canadian cultural development.

For the introduction of information services to be user-supported, there is a good opportunity to consider how these might be structured to allow for opportunities to use the information services for social and cultural purposes. This means considering ways to ensure that all types of groups, organizations and individuals can provide information through the distribution system to other people. As with other distribution systems that have been designed in broadcasting, the system which mediates the provision of information can be set up to allow for social and cultural exchanges; but that will not happen by accident, it has to be deliberately undertaken. The consideration of economic and political factors has always taken precedence so far; the information services offered by Telidon and others will be no different if no conscious effort is made to ensure the opportunity for social usage - for all sorts of purposes including education, entertainment, information, cultural expression, and social action.

If Canadians are serious about wanting to strengthen their own identity as Canadians, this has to mean paying attention to the social and cultural growth of Canadian communities, to the encouragement of community expression and the provision for multiple opportunities for people to be involved in communication



exchanges within their own local areas. The involvement of Canadians in the production of the new forms of local production is a beginning for the major changes needed in the priorities of the Canadian broadcasting system. These efforts must be provided with a central place in the current supervision and planning of the broadcasting system in Canada; they also must be given primary consideration whenever any new program services are being proposed. The priority given to economic and political factors in the development of broadcasting to date has not achieved the cultural strengthening of Canadian society which was intended by successive broadcasting statutes. By not only permitting but actually encouraging people anywhere in Canada to participate in determining some of the content in the broadcasting system, maybe Canadians can be more in control of what they receive through broadcasting. They can also be in a position to originate programming which is of greater local relevance than what they receive now.

The potential benefits of radio and television broadcasting for use towards social and educational goals have been remarked on from the beginning of their development. But we have seen little actual use towards these goals compared to the heavy usage for political and economic advantage. The social, cultural, and educational potential presumably still remains but it is largely unrealized and most options are never even explored because of the high financial cost. Every new technical

system of communications distribution will also, no doubt, be greeted as having tremendous potential benefits for society. None of the social and cultural benefits for Canadians will be realized unless we can discover a way of ensuring priority (at the planning stage as well as later) for these social purposes ahead of economic and political considerations.

In summary:

1. New local programming is best understood not just as part of the programming in the Canadian broadcasting system but in the social and cultural context of the local society where it has developed.
2. We need to understand much more about how people use the media and what social and cultural significance the broadcasting content has in our lives.
3. The broadcasting system as a whole and at the local level is organized primarily towards economic and political objectives, which make it difficult to pursue the achievement of the crucial cultural goals for Canada.
4. There need to be opportunities for people to produce a variety of programs for local broadcast so that other voices can be heard through the communications systems for the social and cultural purposes of enhancing community life and strengthening a sense of identity for individual Canadians.
5. In the short term, there is need for capital funding to help community radio stations get established and stay in operation. Long term support for all types of new local programming can be found if the programs and their producers are given full recognition as an essential part of the broadcasting system.
6. There are two goals to pursue immediately: (i) ensure that local programming opportunities are built in to the development of future programming and information services to the home; (ii) examine ways to re-direct the Canadian broadcasting system towards the stated social and cultural goals of the Broadcasting Act.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	Accelerated Coverage Plan
BN	Broadcast News
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CCTA	Canadian Cable Television Association
CP	Canadian Press
CPN	Co-operative Programming Network
CRTC	Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (formerly the Canadian Radio Television Commission)
CTV	the English language private TV network
CYC	Company of Young Canadians
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
DOC	Department of Communications
LIP	Local Initiatives Program
LPRT	Low Power Relay Transmitter
MCQ	Ministère des Communications du Québec
NFB	National Film Board
OFY	Opportunities for Youth
Sask Tel	Saskatchewan Telecommunications
TVA	the French language private TV network
TVC	Télévision Communautaire









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